

THE SONG OF MOSES

(DEUTERONOMY 32)

BY

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A Dissertation

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THE
SONG OF MOSES

(DEUTERONOMY 32)

BY

ABRAHAM J. LEVY

Ph. D.

PARIS

—
1930

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To the Memory of my Beloved Teachers

Professor PAUL HAUPT

AND

Professor AARON EMBER

who were a source of unceasing inspiration to me.

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FOREWARD

This thesis of Dr. LEVY bears brilliant testimony both to the broad erudition and to the sound scientific method employed by this young Orientalist.

I am particularly interested in the monograph because it is essentially connected with my own researches on the exiled Israelitish Ten Tribes of Mesopotamia. The work of Dr. LEVY adds very valuable material to this new chapter of Hebrew history and throws more light on the Assyrian and Babylonian exiles.

Thus this close and extensive examination of the beautiful poem of Deuteronomy 32 appears as a splendid contribution in the new field of research.

I am glad to publish *The Song of Moses* as the first volume of the Scientific Series of «Oriens-The Oriental Review».

S. Schiffer.

Paris, August 15th, 1930.



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PREFACE

For the sake of convenience I have arranged the material of the monograph in accordance with the following scheme.

PART I.

1. History of the interpretation of the poem.
2. Historical background.
 - (1) The Assyrian exile
 - (2) The Babylonian exile
3. The literary value of the poem.

PART II.

1. English translation of the poem.
2. Explanatory notes.

PART III.

1. Critical notes.
2. A reconstruction of the Hebrew Text.

Under the heading *History of the Interpretation of the Poem*, I have given a brief discussion of the more important works dealing with the subject, arranged in chronological order, with special reference to the ideas held by different writers with regard to the authorship, date, place of composition and theological interpretation of the poem.

In the chapter on *Historical Background*, I have treated, first, the conditions under which the Israelites lived in Assyria, their religion, belief, and their national culture; secondly, the life of the Israelites and Judeans in Babylonia during the sixth century B. C. I have next tried to show that, after the deportation of the Israelites to Babylonia their culture becomes the fundamental stratum of the Jewish belief in the Exile, and that the development of Judaism during this period was not entirely due to the activity of the Judeans but resulted from the amalgamation of two elements, Israelitic as well as Judaic. I have pointed out that the union of these two cul-

tures, the Judean and Israelitic, took place during the last days of Ezekiel (c. 570 B. C.), and I have tried to prove that in addition to the Jewish culture center in Babylonia there was also an important center in Elam (later a part of Persia) dating from the early part of the seventh century B. C. Finally, I have indicated the circumstances which induced our author to compose an artistic poem of this kind, and have discussed the place of composition.

In the third chapter, under the heading *The Literary Value of the Poem*, I have given a brief outline of the general principles of Hebrew poetry in order to make clear the reasons, for a number of the emendations in the text of our Psalm. Following this I have commented on the different strophical arrangements given by the various commentators and have suggested an arrangement of my own, and finally I have given a brief outline of the whole poem, calling attention to the chief ideas expressed by the author.

In the Translation of the Psalm an attempt has been made to imitate the meter in the Hebrew text. In both, the translation and the Hebrew text, the glosses being referred to by the Greek letters have been excised and placed at the bottom of each page. In the translation, the Arabic numerals refer to the explanatory notes. In the Hebrew text the beats are indicated by the *methegh* sign. In both, the translation and the Hebrew text the diacritical marks of the Polychrom Bible are employed. The ss used in the Hebrew text show that emendation was made according to the Samaritan Hebrew Text.

This monograph has been ready for publication since 1925 but owing to unavoidable circumstances its publication was delayed until the present.

I am indebted to Dr. S. SCHIFFER for his kindness in reading the proof, writing a Foreward and publishing this monograph as the first volume of the scientific series of "Oriens—The Oriental Review":

Chicago, 1930

THE AUTHOR

ABBREVIATIONS

AHW	<i>Assyrisches Handwörterbuch</i> , Delitzsch.
AJP	<i>American Journal of Philology</i> .
AJSL	<i>American Journal of Semitic Languages</i> .
Am.	<i>Amos</i> .
Arab.	Arabic.
Aram.	Aramaic.
Ass.	Assyrian.
BEUP	<i>Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania</i> .
Brock.	Brockelmann.
CBL	<i>Cyclopaedia of Biblical Literature</i> .
CDAL	<i>Concise Dictionary of the Assyrian Language</i> , Muss-Arnolt.
cf.	confer.
CPOT	<i>Cuneiform Parallels of the Old Testament</i> .
Chr.	<i>Chronicles</i> .
CSD	<i>Compendious Syriac Dictionary</i> , J. P. Smith.
ct.	Contrast.
Dan.	<i>Daniel</i> .
DBH	<i>Dictionary of the Bible</i> , Hastings.
DBS	<i>Dictionary of the Bible</i> , Smith.
Del.	Delitzsch.
Deut. or Dt.	<i>Deuteronomy</i> .
Dill.	Dillmann.
E	Ewald's <i>Lehrbuch</i> .
EB. ¹¹	<i>Encyclopaedia Britannica</i> , eleventh edition.
Eg.	Egyptian.
Ehr.	Ehrlich.
Ents. des Jud.	<i>Entstehung des Judenthums</i> , E. Meyer.
Eth.	Ethiopic.

Ex.	<i>Exodus.</i>
Ez.	<i>Ezekiel</i>
Ezr.	<i>Ezra.</i>
FN	<i>The Fall of Nineveh, Gadd.</i>
GA	<i>Geschichte des Altertums, E. Meyer.</i>
GATR	<i>Geschichte der Alttestamentlichen Religion, Ed. König.</i>
GB ¹⁷	Gesenius-Buhl, <i>Lexicon</i> , seventeenth edition.
GGA	Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen.
GK ²⁶	Gesenius-Kautzsch (<i>Hebrew Grammar</i>), twenty-sixth edition.
Gn.	<i>Genesis.</i>
GVI	<i>Geschichte des Volkes Israel, Kittel.</i>
HA	<i>History of Assyria, Olmstead.</i>
Hab.	<i>Habbaquq.</i>
Heb.	Hebrew.
Hip.	Hip'îl.
Hos.	<i>Hosea.</i>
IE	<i>Ibn Ezra.</i>
Ift.	<i>Ifta'ala.</i>
Is.	<i>Isaiah.</i>
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society.</i>
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature.</i>
JE	<i>Jewish Encyclopedia.</i>
Jer.	<i>Jeremiah.</i>
JHUC	<i>Johns Hopkins University Circular.</i>
Jud.	<i>Judges.</i>
K	<i>Kings.</i>
KAT ³	<i>Die Keilinschriften und das AT</i> , third ed., Schrader.
KB	<i>Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek.</i>
Kamp.	Kamphausen.
Kaut.	Kautzsch.
Klost.	Klostermann.
Knob.	Knobel.
KSp.	<i>Keilinschriftliche Spuren der..... deportierten Samarier (10 Stämme),</i> S. Schiffer.
Lam.	<i>Lamentations.</i>
lit.	literally.
LM	<i>Das Lied Moses.</i>
Mal.	<i>Malachi.</i>

Mich.	<i>Micha.</i>
MF	<i>Marti-Festschrift.</i>
MSS	<i>Manuscripts.</i>
MT	<i>Masoretic Text.</i>
MVAG	<i>Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft.</i>
Nah.	<i>Nahum.</i>
Neh.	<i>Nehemiah.</i>
Num.	<i>Numbers.</i>
NT	<i>New Testament.</i>
OLZ	<i>Orientalistische Literaturzeitung.</i>
OT	<i>Old Testament.</i>
OTLAE	<i>The Old Testament in the Light of Ancient East, Jeremias.</i>
PAP ³	<i>Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society.</i>
Pi	<i>Pi'el.</i>
pl.	<i>plural.</i>
plt.	<i>plate.</i>
pt.	<i>part.</i>
Prov.	<i>Proverbs.</i>
Ps.	<i>Psalms.</i>
PSBA	<i>Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archeology.</i>
Rdq	<i>Rabbi David Qimhi.</i>
Rmbn	<i>Rabbi Moses Ben Nahman.</i>
Rsbm	<i>Rabbi Solomon Ben Maimon.</i>
RT	<i>Received Text.</i>
S	<i>Samuel.</i>
SBOT	<i>Sacred Books of the Old Testament, Haupt.</i>
Sd.	<i>Sa'adia. Rab. Sa'adia's Arabic trans. of the Pentateuch.</i>
Sm	<i>Samaritan.</i>
SmH	<i>Samaritan's Hebrew Text of the Pentateuch.</i>
SmT	<i>Samaritan Targum.</i>
Syr.	<i>Syriac.</i>
tb.	<i>tablet.</i>
v.	<i>verse.</i>
vv.	<i>verses.</i>
VGr.	<i>Grundriss der vergleichenden Gram. der semit. Sprachen.</i>
Vol.	<i>volume.</i>
WF	<i>Wellhausen-Festschrift.</i>

ZATW	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestament. Wissenschaft.</i>
ZDMG	<i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.</i>
G	<i>The Greek Septuagint.</i>
J	<i>Jonathan's Targum.</i>
M	<i>Mossoretic.</i>
O	<i>Onqelos' Targum.</i>
S	<i>Syriac Version.</i>
V	<i>Vulgate.</i>
Y	<i>Targum Yerushalmi.</i>

Part I.

1. HISTORY OF THE INTERPRETATION

In the Bible (both OT and NT) we find several poems which were not written by the authors of the books in which they are incorporated. They are often manifestly incongruous to the situation they are supposed to illustrate (AJP 40, 64). The Maccabean author of the Book of Joel (c. 137 B. C.) prefixed an ancient poem describing an invasion of locusts, which was no doubt referred by his contemporaries to the swarms of Syrians who had come *locusting* upon Judea (AJP 43, 240). In the Sadducean apologue known as the Book of Jonah (c. 100 B. C.) the psalm in Jon. 2, 3-10 represents a Maccabean poem referring to the Syrian persecution at the time of Antiochus Epiphanes c. 168 B. C. (AJSL 23, 256 : PAPS 46, 163).

Also the *Magnificat* of Elisabeth (Luke 1, 47-55) is a Maccabean poem, while the Hebrew original of the *Benedictus* of Zacharias (Luke 1, 68-79) is one of the earliest Hebrew psalms, written at the end of the Babylonian Captivity (c. 538) : the child apostrophized in Luke 1, 76 is not John the Baptist, but Zerubbabel. Also the prototype of the *Magnificat*, the so-called Song of Hannah (1 S 2, 1-10) refers to this grandson of the last legitimate king of Judah as do also Is. 9, 5-6 ; 11, 1-6 (AJP 40, 67 ; *Monist* 29, 293) and Pss. 20, 21, 89, 110, 132 (JBL 37, 209-231).

There are no Mosaic writings in OT, just as we have no Davidic psalms and no Solomonic books (JHUC 163, 52 b¹ ; WF 222, n. 1). The oldest stratum of P, the so-called Law of Holiness originated in Babylonia c. 550 B. C. Ps. 90 is not a prayer of Moses, the Man of God, but was probably written c. 100 B. C. (JBL 31, 118). Moses' Song of Triumph in Ex. 15 is a post-Exilic liturgical hymn for the Passover (AJSL 20, 152). Also the Song of Moses in Deut. 32 is not Mosaic, but a psalm like Pss. 78, 105, 106, and there are no pre-Exilic psalms (JHUC 163, 54^a). Deut. 32 is a retros-

pective survey of Israel's religious history; CORNILL called it a "compendium of prophetic theology". The nucleus of Deut. cannot have originated long before 621, and several modern critics are inclined to regard the book as post-Exilic (ZATW 40, 161 ; OLZ 26, 481 ; 27, 459).

On account of its great religious significance the thirty-second chapter of Deuteronomy was set apart by the Rabbis as a special portion of the Torah to be read in the Synagogue on one sabbath day during the year. The Jews call this portion of Deuteronomy *Ha'azinû*, because the chapter begins with this very word, but, for greater convenience, the students of the OT call it the *Song of Moses*, although the context does not make any reference to Moses. The title may have originated in this way. In the preceding chapter of Deuteronomy (c. 31, 19) JHVH commands Moses and Joshua as follows ¹:

And now write ye this song for you and teach it the Children of Israel, put it in their mouth, that this song may be a witness for me against the Children of Israel.

Whether this was the song which was referred to in this verse is doubted by a great many scholars.

Indeed, we should expect Moses, the great leader, to deliver some farewell challenge before he bids his people good-bye. According to the statement in Deuteronomy 31, 28 this address was delivered with pomp. Moses commands the elders of Israel : *Gather unto me all the elders of your tribes and your officers that I may speak these words in their ears*. Moses was aware of the fact that the love of JHVH and the worship of Him were not deeply rooted in the hearts of the Israelites, but were forced upon them through his influence ; therefore he was apprehensive that his people might forsake JHVH and relapse into idolatry after his death. Under these circumstances the address may have been a warning against apostasy and its disastrous consequences.

The address might have been memorized and delivered orally from father to son. We may assume that since the contents of the address were to be memorized, the written text was of little value for them; furthermore we may conjecture that the text had been lost and then was gradually forgotten, but the tradition that Moses delivered an address before his death was retained in their memory.

¹ ועתה כתבו לכם את השירה הזאת ולמַדְּתֶּם אֶת בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל > שִׁי > מֶה > בְּפִיהֶם לְמַעַן תִּהְיֶה

לִי הַשִּׁירָה הַזֹּאת לְעֵד בְּבְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל.

The poem is preceded by an introduction (31, 14-30) and followed by a conclusion (32, 44-47). The introduction is intended to throw some light on the subject concerned in the body of the poem, but in fact it does not ; for instead of helping us to understand the poem it increases the difficulties considerably.

The history of the interpretation may be considered from two points of view. The first is older and is maintained by the traditional, or orthodox, school, and the second is held by the modern school of biblical criticism.

The Jewish commentators agree with the traditional school which claims that Moses wrote the entire five books of the Torah. In order to emphasize the integrity of the Pentateuch they went so far as to assume that even the last chapter of Deuteronomy, which mainly deals with the death of Moses and the mourning of Israel over their great leader, was written by Moses himself. Rabbi MAIR said : "*The book of the Torah misses nothing, for it is stated (Deut. 31,26) 'Take this book of the Torah', because the Holy One dictates and Moses writes with tears*" (Rashi, Deut. 34, 5) ².

This view was held also by non-Jewish orthodox scholars. Bleek (1822) believed that Deut. chapters 1-32 belonged to one writer, for the contents, tone and character of the book of Deuteronomy are so akin that no one may doubt the identity of the composer (*Einleitung*, p. 306).

The critics, however, make a distinction between introductory and concluding verses referred to above and the body of the poem. For a long time the passage 31, 14-30 was considered as an introduction to our poem, but EWALD was the first who noted the difference between verses 14-23 and verses 24-30. He considered verses 14-23 as an *original introduction*, and the remaining verses 24-30 as a Deuteronomic addition. It is not impossible that these introductions were first prefixed to two different poems. EWALD believed that 31, 14-23 and 32, 44 belonged to a text older than Deuteronomy. KAMPHAUSEN carried EWALD's assumption further and maintained that the first introduction (31, 14-23) was originally a *Judaic* introduction and it was followed by a "*speziell messianisches Lied*": "*der überarbeitende judaische Deuteronomiker aber dieses judaische speziell messianische Lied gewaltsam beseitigte, um dafür ein ephraimitisches nur allgemein messianisches, welches ihm besser zusagte, an die Stelle zu setzen*" (quoted by KLOSTERMANN, p. 224). But there is no ground to believe

2. והוא אומר לקח ספר התורה הזה ספר התורה חסר כלום אלא הקב"ה אומר ומשה כותב בדמיון.

that this was the case. It is now well agreed that the passage **31**, 14-23 is not of Deuteronomic authorship, but may be referred to older documents *JE*; while **31**, 24-30 are distinctly Deuteronomic (DRIVER, p. 338). Concerning this passage WESTPHAL (1888) argued as follows : Les versets 16-22 appartenant à *JE*, il est évident que ce document devait renfermer un cantique attribué à Moïse et dicté par l'Éternel ". This may confirm the view stated above ; that is, the tradition about Moses' address remained, but the address itself was lost and forgotten.

KLOSTERMANN (1893) advanced a new theory concerning the proper location of our poem in the Pentateuch. According to him our poem stood originally in Numbers after chapter **27** where the appointment of Joshua as a leader over Israel was confirmed before all the people. This view, however, is not conclusive. The vv. in Numbers which bear a strong resemblance to Deut. **31**, 14-23, and Deut. **32**, 49-52 are most likely fragments of Deut. **31** and **32**, which by mistake were interpolated in Numbers.

JACOB ALTING (1652) expressed the idea that our psalm should not be called *Canticum Mosis* but *Canticum Dei*, for he maintained *Non jubet Deus Mosen componere canticum, præscribendo solum ejus materiam, sed cum scribere jubet jam erat canticum conceptum*. He agrees partly with COCCEJUS (1650) who stated: *Moses tanquam secretarius dei, verba ipsius promulgat*. Moses, according to him, was used by JHVH as *instrumentum in scribendo tum in docendo hoc cantico*. Like many of the orthodox school DRECHSLER characterized the Holy spirit as the *primarius auctor*.

KAMPHAUSEN, in refuting the arguments of the orthodox school, said with EWALD, *Wer wollte sich nicht darüber freuen, wenn es wirklich möglich wäre, unser grosses Lied als ein Werk Moses zu betrachten. Dass aber Moses der Verfasser sei, hat man auf Grund der Heiligen Schrift selber Jahrtausende lang geglaubt ; und es bedarf daher wahrlich eines triftigen Beweises, um die überlieferte Ansicht als irrig darzustellen* (p. 250). As soon as we depart from the traditional views concerning the interpretation of a certain biblical text, we are immediately confronted with difficult problems, viz :

1. Who is the author ?
2. When and where did the author live ?
3. What were the circumstances which moved the author to write his work ?

In reference to our poem, all these problems have been discussed

with minute detail by many scholars without any definite results, although their labors have thrown considerable light upon the subject.

In 1807 DE WETTE questioned the validity of the traditional view which attributed the authorship to Moses. He advanced the opinion that our poem was composed at a late period. He says : "Sprache, Darstellung und der ganze Inhalt verrathen ein späteres Zeitalter, in welchem die Nation schon zu Grunde gerichtet und die Zehn Stämme vielleicht schon im Exil waren ; Moses konnte nicht eine so traurige Vorstellung von dem Schicksal seines Volkes haben". (*Kritik der Israelitischen Geschichte*, p. 393). No work of special importance was published till the well known essay of EWALD in 1858, entitled *Das Grosse Lied in Deuteronomium*, in which he made the first attempt to establish a definite solution of our problems. It may be of interest to give here, some of his conclusions, which were accepted by a great many of his contemporaries :

1. The date of our poem can not be earlier or later than the seventh century B. C., under the regime of Essarhaddon.

2. The author lived in the Northern Kingdom and was perhaps of the Ten Tribes.

3. The author does not mention any thing about Judea.

4. " Die grösste Eigenthümlichkeit der Sprache ist die Weichheit und Zartheit der ausführlich malerischen Darstellung mitten in dem hohen Ernste der Gegenstände, welche zu berühren sind" (*Das Grosse Lied in Deut.*, in *Jahrbücher der Bib. Wiss.*, 1856, pp. 43-44).

EWALD has shown in his *Geschichte des Volkes Israel* that the Northern Kingdom, in the last years of its existence had reached anew a high zeal for true religion. In addition to this he believes that the literature of the Northern Kingdom, although very little of it remained in our hands, on account of its early destruction, was more developed than that of the Judeans at the same period. After adapting all the various statements mentioned above, EWALD brings us to the climax of his work — the aim of the poem. According to him our psalm is a Messianic literary production. " Denn das bedeutsamste in dem Inhalte unseres Stückes ist, dass es den ganzen Sinn und Geist der messianischen Hoffnung in sich schliesst, welche damals durch die grössten Propheten in beiden Reichen schon so hoch und so bestimmt ausgebildet war, durch keinen aber begeisterter und zugleich besonnener verkündigt wurde als durch den zu jener Zeit schon längst wirkenden auch durch Schriften im nordlichen Reiche gewiss bekannten Jesaja " (p. 45).

At first the assumptions of EWALD seem to be quite convincing, but after a close examination of the text it becomes obvious that there are no substantial grounds in the contents of the poem to support his theory; nor is it conclusive that the prophet belonged to the Ten Tribes, and that he lived and preached in Samaria. The Assyrians cannot be called *non-nation* (Dt. 32, 21) אֲנִי-לֹא-עַם, for they were, at the time of Essarhaddon especially, an old, well organized nation. The Messianic character of this poem is merely a fantasy created by EWALD and his followers, for there are no Messianic predictions in the Bible, and whenever anyone professes to have found such predictions, it is certain that he bases his arguments on an erroneous interpretation of the text. This view has been repeatedly expressed by Professor HAUPT.

SCHULTZ published his book on Deuteronomy in 1859. It seems to have been very hard for him to accept the new theory advanced by EWALD, therefore he criticized it severely. " Die beiden letzten Umstände sind von der Art, dass sich EWALD durch sie genöthigt sieht, um nicht in die entlegene Mosaische Zeit zurückgehen zu müssen, zu einer entlegenen Gegend seine Zuflucht zu nehmen, zu einer utopischen Gegend des nördlichen Reichs, wo man trotz Hoseas nicht hätte auf den künftigen Davididen hinweisen dürfen oder wollen, von wo uns auch keine anderen Schriftstücke zugekommen " (p. 648). According to SCHULTZ this poem is of Mosaic authorship and he supports this opinion (a) on traditional grounds, and (b) because the author tells very much about the great deeds done by JHVH before and during the Mosaic period, while he says practically nothing of the deeds of JHVH for the generations after Moses, namely, David, Solomon etc. It seems to me that SCHULTZ did not pay much attention to verses 13-15 of this psalm where the prosperity of the people of JHVH and their ingratitude toward their benefactor are described. All these facts were mentioned as having occurred in the past and not to be fulfilled in the future, as we should expect if Moses were the author; moreover, the Messianic idea which is expressed as follows: " das Lied schildert das Strafgericht und redet von dem dennoch gesicherten Bestande des Reiches Gottes, ohne auf den in der assyrischen Zeit schon allgemein als einzigen Bürgen des Bestandes erwarteten Davidsohn auszuschaun ", (p. 648) is based on the misinterpretation of the last verses of our poem.

KNOBEL in 1861 advanced a theory different from that which was given by EWALD and the others. According to him the date of the compo-

sition must be much earlier. He believed that the poem was composed after the great wars of Israel with the Syrians. Our prophet was greatly stirred up by the terrible and depressing conditions during which he lived. The circumstances were described by KNOBEL as follows : " Der Verfasser lebt in einer Zeit, wo Israel von Jehova preisgegeben ist, durch ein fremdes Volk Niederlagen erleidet und ein unnatürlich grosses Kriegsunglück hat, wo es von neuen Niederlagen und gänzlichem Erliegen bedroht ist, wo es selbst den Anschein hat, als wollte Jehova Israel ganz vertilgen, wo indessen die Rettung des Volks und die Vergeltung an den Feinden sich noch hoffen lassen. Diese Äusserungen erklären sich nicht früher als in der Zeit, wo die Syrer Israel bedrängten und sehr herunterbrachten ". KNOBEL, however, was honest enough to admit that there are no traces in our poem indicating the Syrian period (*Die Bücher Numeri, Deuteronomium und Josua*, 1861, p. 325). According to this conjecture, the date may be 780 B. C., that is, at the end of the reign of Jehoahaz and at the early part of the reign of Jeroboam II. Thus the expressions, *non-nation*, *faithless people*, would refer to the Syrians which were considered to be JHVH's *rod of correction*. This conjecture of KNOBEL would have held good, if there were not internal evidences in the psalm which disprove it. Ideas such as those expressed in vv. 12 and 39 could not be expected to have been stated at such an early period as this. Furthermore the Syrians were a very strong and very well organized nation, therefore it is impossible that the prophet, who was aware of this fact, would call them *non-nation*. Although this view was also held for a long time, by great scholars such as, SCHRADER, DILLMANN, WESTPHAL, OTELLI and others, it now seems to be entirely untenable.

One of the most extensive works on this subject was written by KAMPHAUSEN in 1862. He discusses at length every question, using exhaustively all the material published on the subject up to that time. He tries to solve the problem of the date of the composition, by basing it on the expression *non-nation* solely. " Das grausame Volk, dessen Herrschaft über die Israeliten unser Verfasser schildert, ist als Unvolk verschieden von allen Völkern, mit denen Israel bisher bekannt geworden war ". This type of people may be one of the two great powers, either the Assyrians or the Chaldeans who extended their dominion over many countries and who were notorious for their cruelty, but " Da nun aber der Gedanke an die Chaldäer wegen der Stellung unseres Liedes in Deuteronomium und wegen seiner frühen Benutzung durch Jeremia ohne Weiteres wegfällt,

bleiben uns als die Dränger Israels zur Zeit unseres Dichters nur die Assyrier übrig " (pp. 302f).

KAMPHAUSEN pointed out a great many passages from Jeremiah similar to those in our poem, e. g. Jer. 27 ; Deut. 32, 15 ; Jer. 2, 5 suggest a very striking similarity to Deut. 32, 5. *Thus said JHVH what injustice (על) have thy fathers found in me ?* Also the expression *I will take you, one from a city, and two from a family.* In summarizing his statement KAMPHAUSEN comments : " Deut. 32 sei das Muster und Vorbild für alle Propheten gewesen ", but this assumption is not firm enough, for Jeremiah might have used independently the same words employed by our prophet. According to KAMPHAUSEN the poem is a Messianic Ephraimitic poem. " In dem Satze, dass Gott nie von seinem Volke lassen könne, ist der messianische Gedanke tief erfasst "... " Die Hoffnung, dass nach Befreiung von dem Unvolke sofort die Zeit des Heiles eintreten werde, hat sich nicht erfüllt " (p. 280). This disappointment of course, is due to the wrong period which KAMPHAUSEN assumed for our poem. The salvation that the prophet and the people were waiting for, came after all, with the conquest of Babylonia by Cyrus in 539 B.C. This shows that the prophet's expectations were realized.

KUENEN (1886) differed from all his predecessors in respect to the date of our poem. He considered the style of this composition to be of the Chaldean age ; i. e., the author was a person contemporary with Jeremiah. According to this scholar, the *Song of Moses* must have been composed as late as 630 B. C.

CORNILL (1891) expressed his opinion rather radically. According to him " das Lied zwar im Ausdrucke manches Eigenthümliche hat, aber in den Gedanken jeder Originalität entbehrt : es ist gewissermassen ein Compendium der prophetischen Theologie, durch und durch voll Reminiscenzen an ältere Propheten ". He considered the expressions found in Jeremiah to be more striking in their similarity to our poem than those of Hosea, Isaiah and Micah. In dating the poem CORNILL believed " wir können das Lied nicht früher ansetzen als höchstens die letzten Jahre des babylonischen Exils, wenn wir nicht noch tiefer herabgehen müssen " (p. 71).

WESTPHAL (1892) declared " *une sombre élégie, qui ne parle enfin d'espérance que pour consoler du présent, et ramener le cœur du peuple vers le Dieu qui l'afflige* ". As to its date (of our poem) WESTPHAL held the same view as KNOBEL, i. e. during the wars with the Syrians". La

sinistre déclaration Deut. 32, 19-27 trouve ici toute son application ", but he does not explain what the poet meant by v. 17b and v. 21b ; besides many other terms which were not used before the Exile. WESTPHAL believes the author to be the prophet Jonah, the son of Amittai, from *Gath-ha-Hefer* (2 K 14, 25) who predicted the victories of Jeroboam over the Syrians (pp. 58-59).

KLOSTERMANN (*Der Pentateuch*, 1893) devoted almost half of his book to the discussion of our poem. Through identity of words and expressions he drew the conclusion that the poem was known during the time of Hezekiah, for both Isaiah and Micah make use of some of its expressions in their prophecies. We learn from this statement that the poem was composed long before the time of Hezekiah, because the literature of that period was already considered as a model for literary imitation. But we will not be justified in determining the date of this poem merely on the basis of comparisons between fragmentary phrases.

While CORNILL maintained that our poem is a *Tröstlied für Israel*, SELLIN on the other hand, took it to be an " *eschatologisches Lied*, welches aber genau wie die eschatologischen Reden der vorexilischen Propheten von konkreten historischen Verhältnissen ausgeht ". SELLIN firmly believed that it referred to the terrible wars of the Israelites with the Syrians under the leadership of Hazael. The king of Syria was anointed especially by Elisha (1 K 19, 15) for the purpose of acting as a *göttliches Strafwerkzeug* and this " ist ja gerade die glänzendste Bestätigung meiner Deutung " (p. 30). In contrast with CORNILL, who shifted the date of its composition (of our poem) to an exilic period, SELLIN commented: " Nichterwähnung des Exils endlich bleibt in einem solchen ausdrücklichen Zukunftsbilde meiner Meinung nach ein unüberwindliches Hindernis gegen jede Datierung des Liedes hinter Hosea (*ibid*).

Our poem may be called an eschatological song only by one of the orthodox school who believes that Moses was the author, but it must not be accepted as such by SELLIN who sees in the Arameans JHVH's *rod*.

LÖHR (1903), EHRLICH (1909) and STEURNAGEL (1912) made some attempt to improve the MT by eliminating certain verses which were taken to be later glosses appended to the genuine poem. While the last two were rather conservative in their attempt, the first one, on the other hand, was too extreme. He mutilated the text so badly that one can hardly recognize the poem. His reasons for eliding so many verses are not sufficiently weighty ; moreover the references often made to the *Book of JHVH's Wars* are doubtful.

KÖNIG (1917) called the Song a "*Theodicee* mit tröstlichem Ausgang, daher wesentlich ein Trostlied, sodass seine Abzielung also nicht mit der übereinstimmt, die ihm in der Einführung 31, 16-22 zugeschrieben wird ", further on, " Neben Bekämpfung der Skepsis wolle das Gedicht die religiös ungetreue und oftmals auch moralisch unfruchtbare Mehrheit Israels mit der Strafgerechtigkeit Gottes warnen und die Getreuen Jahves durch den Hinweis auf dessen unwandelbare Huld trösten und zum Ausharren anspornen " ³. While SELLIN claimed that the Syrians were *JHVH's rod of correction*, KÖNIG, on the other hand, took the Chaldeans to be such.

GUNKEL in his short article "*Das Lied des Moses* " stated that the song does not mention the Exile at all : " Die Vielgestaltigkeit des Stückes, literaturgeschichtlich betrachtet, weist auch auf ein späteres Zeitalter hin. Berührungen im Sprachgebrauch entscheiden für die Zeit der Deuteronomisten und Jeremias " (Budde p. 5). " In starkem Unterschiede zu diesem Propheten aber, behauptet unser Dichter, dass gegenwärtig nicht der Untergang, sondern ein wenn auch völlig unverdientes Heil bevorsteht. Der Dichter gehört also zu den von Jeremia bekämpften Heilspropheten, und das Gedicht zeigt uns wie in die damalige Heilsprophetie Ideen der Unheilsprophetie, besonders der Gedanke an Israels Sünde eingedrungen waren " (BUDDE p. 6).

The latest work on the subject was published by BUDDE (*Das Lied Moses*, 1920). His book is a valuable piece of work, but it is deplorable that he limited his criticism and confined himself to the work of KÖNIG and GUNKEL, touching that of CORNILL and SELLIN, and almost ignoring the work of all their predecessors. To those who argued that the Exile was not mentioned in the text, and that therefore they did not believe a poem of this type could be written outside of Palestine, BUDDE replied : " Wer weiss denn, wieviel von dem ursprünglichen Wortlaut verwischt worden ist, als das Lied seiner gegenwärtigen Stelle und Bestimmung angepasst wurde ? Die Einzelauslegung wird weitere Beweise ergeben, dass der Wortlaut sich nur aus dieser Zeit begreifen lässt " (p. 5). About the circumstances described in our poem BUDDE commented as follows : " Die Strafen Israels liegen sämtlich in der Vergangenheit, wenn sie auch in den Leiden der Gegenwart noch fortwirken ; die Zukunft birgt keine ferneren Gerichte, auch nicht für eine unwürdige Mehrzahl, sondern für das ganze Volk nur Trost und Heil ". He criticized at length the new hypothesis about

³ Quoted by Budde p. 4.

the *Heilsprophet* and the *Unheilsprophet* advanced by GUNKEL. " So hätten wir an diesem Liede ein höchst merkwürdiges Denkmal gewonnen, eine Probe der Predigt, wie sie von Jeremia's Gegnern geübt wird " (p. 6). In conclusion BUDDE tried to show the fallacy of this theory. " Damit aber ist es sicher in Jeremia's Zeit schlimmer statt besser geworden.... Die Gegner Jeremia's aber waren Schönfärber, die Heil zu sehen vermochten wo keines war, (6, 14) die das Schwarze weiss malten ", (p. 6) and moreover, " die Heilspropheten standen auf der Seite der Masse des Volkes, sie vertraten selbst die öffentliche Meinung und wurden von ihr getragen, der Dichter unseres Stückes aber steht als Einzelner der Masse gegenüber und ergreift nur darum das Wort, weil er sich berufen fühlt, Jahve gegenüber seinem unverständigen Volke zu verteidigen ". Further on BUDDE showed that GUNKEL was not right in calling his work " *eine geschichtsphilosophische Betrachtung* ". He also remarked that the term *theodicy* employed by KÖNIG as well as by GUNKEL to designate this type of literary production was not to be attributed to the age of Jeremiah but to a later one. " Aber ganz schweigt er von denen mit Hesekiel und Deuterojesaja, vor allem mit dem erstern, die noch viel bezeichnender sind. Durch Hesekiel wird gerade diese Fassung der Theodicee bestimmt " (p. 8). Finally BUDDE was convinced that Ezekiel is the writer and stated with certainty : " Das ist Hesekiel, wie er leibt und lebt ; an keinen andern Propheten schliesst unser Lied so eng an wie an ihn, ja es ist vor ihm und ohne ihn gar nicht denkbar " (p. 26). Thus, from the last statement we may derive the date of our poem, approximately, 580-575 B.C.

Whether this is the correct date we shall see later. Now, for a better solution of our problems it is important for us to know a little more about the life of the exiles, their worship, their position in the state, and in a later period, their political view ; and particularly the circumstances that gave the impulse and the inspiration to our author to compose this beautiful poem. All these questions will be discussed fully in the next chapter.

2. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

1. The Assyrian Exile

In order to discuss the Babylonian Exile it is necessary to sketch beforehand the history of the Israelites in Assyria and their fate after the destruction of the Assyrian empire. Although this subject throws but little direct light upon my thesis, nevertheless, I shall discuss it briefly, so far as both cuneiform and Hebrew material in our possession will allow. At present the dominant view among most biblical scholars is that the community of the worshippers of JHVH in Babylonia consisted of Judeans only. I am inclined to believe, however, that this was not the case. The body of JHVH believers in Babylonia and its adjoining countries, *i. e.*, Elam and Media, in about the second half of the sixth century B. C. consisted of a large percentage of Israelites of the same belief, who had been exiled with the other captives from Assyria to Babylonia by Nabopolassar. This occurred in about 616-608 B.C. long before the Judean exile under Nebuchadnezzar, as it will be shown in the following pages (p. 22ff.). In making a statement of this sort I realize that I am immediately confronted with some very involved problems, namely :

1. Did the Israelites profess belief in JHVH during the exile in Assyria?
2. What are the sources of this information ?

But before going into details, and, for the sake of a better understanding of the situation, I must first give a brief outline of the cultural status of the Israelites, *i. e.* the Northern Kingdom, in the period previous to their exile in 734 and 722 B.C. The view held by some scholars that the Israelites did not worship JHVH just before the Exile into Assyria hardly deserves consideration. The Israelitic king, Ahab, gave his son and daughter names such as Jehoram and Athaliah (יהורם, עתליה) bearing the first part of the divine name JHVH. Would a person who does not believe in a deity connect the names of his children with it ? We must then assume that Ahab was a believer in JHVH (Cf. Kittel, GVI, Vol. II, 1920, pp. 415, 345) but he tolerated in his country the worship of other deities. Naturally, this aroused the jealousy of the orthodox worshippers at whose head stood the great prophet Elijah. The latter, who was a very zealous worshipper of JHVH,

as his name indicates, condemned the King. The consequence of this propaganda against the dynasty of Omri resulted in its overthrow by an ardent believer in JHVH. Jehu, the founder of the new dynasty, bore a purely Jahvistic name, and furthermore, he was anointed king over Israel by Elisha, a disciple of Elijah, and a prominent prophet in those days. Since Jehu was also in league with the Rekabites, (2 K 10, 15) there is no doubt that he was a true worshipper of JHVH, and it is not impossible that he forcibly spread JHVH worship throughout the country. When one examines the many passages containing the phrase *אך מחטאת ירבעם בן נבט לא סר* *But from the sin of Jeroboam the son of Nebat he did not depart*, it has to be fair enough to admit that this formula was merely a gloss used by a Judaic glossator after the mention of every king of Israel, no matter whether he was a faithful worshipper or not. This was done in an attempt to build up a reason for the early destruction of the Northern Kingdom. A phrase of the same character *אך הבמות לא סרו* *But the heights were not removed* was employed by the same glossator after every king of Judah.

Indeed, the fact that prophecies of a superior nature appeared in Israel before they did in Judah is a sufficient proof that the former was more mature intellectually, and stood on a higher plane of civilization than the latter (*cf.* EWALD, *Das Grosse Lied in Deut.*, p. 44). The extant literature of the prophets of Israel served in a later period as an inexhaustible fountain of national life for the scattered communities of the exiled Israelites in Assyria. In order to bring out the spirit of the prophets more forcibly, I find it of great importance to make use of the skilful description of Kittel, a well known biblical scholar, on this matter. "Selbst lange nachdem er geschwunden, ja bis heute, steht das Volk und was aus ihm erwachsen ist, unter dem Einfluss dieser eigenartigsten gewaltigsten Erscheinung, die je ein Volksleben aus seinem Schoss hervorgebracht hat. In Israels Profeten ist der Genius des israelitischen Geistes am reinsten und grossartigsten erfasst. In unvergleichlicher Weise haben die religiösen Heroen Israels, denen kein Volk Ähnliches an die Seite zu setzen hat, ihrem Volk in die Tiefe der Seele geschaut. Ehedem von fremden Einflüssen stark bestimmt, haben sie bald, was Israel innerlich war und sein konnte, am treuesten empfunden" (p. 411).

The oppression of the poor, the injustice done to the orphans and widows, the social demoralization and other social vices which are described in the writings of the prophets, are very common conditions which develop during and after great wars. The World War demonstrated clearly how a

similar situation may obtain in the twentieth century A. D., even among nations ranking very high in civilization. A prophet in a century before Amos, however, may not have considered these defects as offensive crimes against the national spirit. But we must not forget that moral conceptions at the time of Amos and Hosea were highly developed, and therefore these prophets exacted higher and nobler moral standards from members of their own nation than among the people of the neighboring countries. The prophets with their penetrating insight had foreseen that the nation under such corrupt social and religious conditions could not last very long. They were aware of the victories of the Assyrians over their neighbors in the north, and they were quite sure that the same fate would, sooner or later, befall their own nation. They realized that the system of deportation exercised by the Assyrian conquerors meant Israel's national extinction. Should the name of Israel be erased from among the nations? No! "Das Leben eines Volkes wie Israel *soll* und *darf* nicht zu Ende gehen, hätte es selbst ein Weltreich zum Feinde!" (KITTEL p. 413). They began therefore to mould and shape the social and moral conceptions of their people. The method used in the worship of JHVH proved to be a failure, consequently, they had to find a new way of worship. Hosea was the first who proclaimed ⁴: "For I desired mercy and not sacrifice, and the knowledge of God more than burnt offerings" (Hosea 6, 6). This was the new system of worship as conceived by one of the greatest prophets of Israel. The views of the prophets about God, at that period, became very broad. They were not content with limiting the rule of their deity *i. e.* JHVH, to their own nation. They declared JHVH to be the ruler of the whole world. Thus the power of JHVH became universal (*cf.* Amos 9, 7). KITTEL said as follows: "Der Gedanke reisst die Profetie gewaltsam aus ihren nationalen Grenzen heraus und lässt sie Israel's Ziel und Bestimmung im Licht des Übernationalen, der Weltgeschichte erkennen. Im Lichte der Weltgeschichte hat Israel Assur und alle Weltreiche, die ihm Gewalt antaten, hinter sich gelassen. Das haben die Profeten erkannt. Und was sie erkannten, haben sie bewirkt" (p. 413).

The prophets understood well that the nation must undergo a drastic transformation in order to be revived. The deportation was inevitable. Assur was but a rod of correction ⁵ in the hand of JHVH to correct the vices

4. כִּי־חָסֵד חָפַצְתִּי וְלֹא־זִבָּח וְדַעַת אֱלֹהִים מַעֲלֹת

5. *Cf.* Is 10, 5.

of Israel. But on the other hand a great many people, contemporaries of the prophets, interpreted these circumstances differently. Therefore, they misunderstood the prophets and considered them traitors, who predicted only the calamity of the nation and spoke in favor of their cruel enemies. But in fact, “im Lichte der Geschichte sind sie die Patrioten, denen Israel es dankt, dass es aus den Stürmen, die über sein Land hinbrausten, wenn immer geschwächt und gebeugt, so doch nicht gebrochen hervorging. Ihrem Volke, das zu schwach war, mit dem Schwert gegen die Weltmächte zu kämpfen, haben sie das Panier des Glaubens und Hoffens in die Hand gedrückt. Mit ihm hat Israel den Sieg errungen. Es hat die Weltmächte nicht allein überdauert—es hat sie innerlich, geistig sich zu Füßen gelegt” (p. 417).

The prediction of the prophets was fulfilled. In 734 B. C. during the reign of Pekah in Israel, Tiglath Pileser IV made his first campaign into Palestine, and without very much effort he annexed more than half of the territory of the Israelitish kingdom to his dominions, and transported the inhabitants to Assyria (2 K **15**, 27-29; cf. *Tiglath Pileser's Annals* in CPOT p. 306; KAT³ p. 255; HAUPT in *Open Court* **23**, 197). Unfortunately, as to the number of the exiled at this deportation, we have no record, but we may conjecture that the number was great because the prophet Hosea calls the people who remained in Samaria Ephraim, but not Israel (cf. SCHRADER, KAT³ p. 264). It is possible that some of these Israelites formed a colony in Elam (cf. EWALD'S *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, Vol. III, p. 659) and this opinion may be supported by the later references in the Prophets and Hagiographa (cf. *Isaiah*, **11**, 11; *Ezr.* **2**, 7.31) which indicate that there was an old settlement in Elam. I believe that among the exiles were people of high intellect and probably some prophets, followers and disciples of Hosea. After the first deportation, Samaria became rebellious. Immediately after Tiglath-Pileser had returned to his country, Hosea, son of Elah, killed Pekah (although Tiglath-Pileser's annals report that the king of Assyria killed him and placed Hosea on the throne) and seized the kingdom. In 728 B. C. Hosea, being in league with other nations to overthrow the yoke of Assyria, stopped paying his tribute to the new king, Shalmaneser IV. Therefore, the latter mustered his army and marched against the western countries. Shalmaneser IV repressed the rebellion in Syria and the allied countries and approached Samaria. Many of the Israelites fearing the wrath of the king of Assyria preferred to leave their homes and possessions, and flee to Egypt or neighboring countries

in order to seek refuge (Hosea 9, 6). Probably at this period begins the settlement of Israelites in *Iêb-Elephantine*. In 724 B.C. Shalmaneser laid siege to Samaria. The Israelites resisted surrender for three years. In the meantime Shalmaneser died and Sargon II succeeded him. The latter carried on the siege and finally conquered the capital in 722 B.C. He deported 27,290 persons, besides women and children, from Samaria, and placed them in *ערי מדי*, *נהר-גוזן*, *חלה*, *חבור*, *הבור*, *Halah*, *Habor*, river of Gozan and the cities of Media. Sargon's annals endorse this statement (cf. KB II, p. 55)⁶. It is natural to suppose that the King of Assyria carried away from the country the intellectual and wealthy element, because this was a nucleus for all rebellions, and he left in Samaria only a small number of the lower class who were more submissive to his rule, (cf. SCHIFFER's most recent work in "Oriens", vol. I, N° 1, p. 31).

SCHIFFER, in his studies of certain contract-tablets found in Kanna', placed at our disposal very valuable material concerning the life of the exiled Israelites in Assyria down to the fall of Nineveh. He identified the noun Kanna' with CANNEH (כנה) mentioned in Ez. 27, 23, a region in the north of Mesopotamia. At the time of Ezekiel Kanna' was still known as a great commercial center and was ranked with *Beth-Eden* (בית עדן) and *Haran* (הרן), famous on account of their extensive trade (cf. SCHIFFER, K Sp, pp. 26-27). It is important to note here that on one of the contract-tablets appears a Hebrew name A-*xi-ia-qa-a-mu* אחיקם as a resident of the country (*mât*) *Xalaxxi* (SCHIFFER, p. 30). In one of the Assyrian and Babylonian letters (N° 480) published by HARPER (Vol. V, p. 518) we read that *Ṭâb-šil-ešarra*, governor of Assyria, reports a field in *Xalax* whose revenues were given to the *Nabu* temple of *Dur-Šarrukin*. OLMSTEAD well suggests that we may assume that these farmers of *Xalax* were the Hebrew serfs (cf. OLMSTEAD, *History of Assyria*, p. 290). In the geographical list of Asurbanipal's Library *Xa-lax-xu* is mentioned together with *Ra-ša-ap-pa*, which is the biblical *Rezeeph*, (Hebrew רצף) and today's *Ruṣâfah*, located between the Euphrates and Palmyra and which according to Gadd was near the Tigris. The *Xabor* (Heb. הבור), Assyrian *Xa-bu-ru*, Greek *Χαβώρας* and Arab. *خابور* "ist der linke Nebenfluss des Euphrat, dessen Quellflüsse im *Karadja-Dagh* und *Ṭur-'Abdin* entspringen, und der von *Râs-el-'ain* an das obere Mesopotamien zeitweise mit sehr starkem, unpassier-

6. We must assume that the statement in 2 K. 15, 29 and 17, 6 is more reliable than that which is in 1 Ch. 5, 26, for the latter confuses the first and second deportations. Moreover it limits the exile to the tribes living on the eastern side of the Jordan.

barem Gefälle durchschneidet, um bei der Stätte des alten Circesium in den Euphrat zu münden". Gozan, Ass. *Gu-za-na*, Greek Γαυζανῆτις, so called by Ptolemy, is the land which is situated at the sources of the *Xabur* (SCHIFFER, p. 30). RAWLINSON (II R, 53, No 1, 43) places Gozan near *Na-çi-bi-na*, the Syrian *Nêçîbîn*. According to these indications the Israelites centralized themselves, more or less, around Kanna'. SCHIFFER believes that these contract-tablets " gewähren uns den ersten Einblick in das Dunkel des nordhebräischen Exils.... Sie zeigen uns Kolonisten in ihrem Alltagsleben. Sie gestatten uns ein Urteil über die politische und soziale Stellung der Verbannten.... *Denn wir erfahren, dass die Kolonisten noch in der zweiten Hälfte des 7. Jahrhunderts, ungeachtet äusserer Assimilation, den Glauben an Jahve sich bewahrt hatten.* Die Kanna'äischen Geschäftsverträge sind uns daher wertvolle Denkmäler nicht nur von historischer, sondern auch von religionsgeschichtlicher Bedeutung " (p. 30).

Lately, SCHIFFER deciphered and published in the "Oriens" still more valuable documents which bear direct relation to the life of the Israelites during the Assyrian exile. The message of the Hebrew "Commander of the Cities" of Gozan, to the king of Assyria against the other leading powers of the exilic country, reflects the daily life and action of the Israelitish colonists in this region. Here we hear that Gozan was in touch with Samaria, where the present Assyrian governor is assisted by the Hebrew officer Xalbišu, who is a correspondent of the author. We come across the " *gérant des domaines* " Nîrî-Jâû (נִירִי) and his friend Palṭî-Jâû (פִּלְטִי). These were the friends of the governor of Gozan and plotted against the author ("Oriens", vol. I, 1, p. 29). The other documents display the colonial and agricultural character of the exilic province of the Israelites at Xalax. The biblical familiar names Baraq and Ahîqam (בֶּרֶק, אֲחִיקָם) are met with in one of these documents (cf. "Oriens", vol. I, 2, p. 29).

The Assyrian conquerors deported a nation from its native country in order to weaken it and break up its national power, but they had nothing against the religion of that nation. They allowed the conquered people to carry with them their gods and to build shrines for them in their new settlements (cf. 2 K, 17, 29-32). No doubt the Israelites were entitled to the same privileges, and practised their religion without any interference on the part of the government. SCHIFFER was right in stating " *Die Errichtung eines Nationalheiligtums wurde genehmigt und demselben Exekutivgewalt verliehen* ".

The exiles found a great deal of moral support in the words of their prophets. I believe that Jer. 31 was written by an Israelitic prophet living among his brethren in the exile. This chapter is composed of several poems some of which are merely fragments. The words of the prophet are full of comfort to his coreligionists ⁷ :

31, 3 Yet I will build thee and thou shalt be rebuilt,

O virgin of Israel,

Yet thou shalt be adorned with thy taborets

and thou shalt go forth in dancing ^a ;

4 Yet thou shalt plant vineyards ^b

upon the mountains of Samaria (Jer. 31, 3-4).

(α) 31, 3 of them who make merry.

(β) 4 The planters will plant, and it shall be free to eat.

A beautiful fragment of an elegy, where Rachel, the mother, mourns over her children ⁸.

31, 14 ^a A voice was heard in Ramah ;

a bitter lamentation ^b .

Rachel weeping for her children,

refused to be comforted ^γ (Jer. 31, 14).

(α) 31, 14 Thus said JHVH.

(β) Weeping.

(γ) For her children, because there are not.

JHVH answers Rachel weeping as follows ⁹ :

7.	31,3	עֹד אֲבִנֶה וְנִבְנִית	בְּתוֹלַת יִשְׂרָאֵל
		עֹד תַּעֲדִי תַפִּיךְ	וַיֵּצֵאת בְּמַחֹל α :
4		עֹד תִּטְעִי כְרָמִים β	בְּהָרֵי שִׁמְרוֹן :
(α) 3 משחקים	(β) נטעו נטעים וחללו		
8.	α 31,14	קוֹל בְּרִמָּה נִשְׁמָע	נְהִי β תִּמְרוֹרִים
		רָחֵל מִבְּכָה עַל־בְּנֵיהָ	מֵאֲנָה להנחם γ :
(α) 31,14 כה אמר יהוה	(β) בכי	(γ) על בניה כי אינם.	
9.	α 31,15	מִנְעִי קוֹלְךָ מִבְּכִי	וְעִינֶיךָ מִ'הוֹיִל דְּמָעָה
		כִּי־יֵשׁ שָׂכָר לַפַּעֲלָתְךָ β	וְשָׁבוּ מֵאֶרֶץ אוֹיֵב :
16		וְיֵשׁ תִּקְוָה לְאַחֲרִיתְךָ γ	וְשָׁבוּ בָנִים לְגִבּוֹלָם :
(α) 31,15 כה אמר יהוה	(β) נאם יהוה	(γ) 16 נאם יהוה	

31, 15 "Refrain thy voice from weeping
 and thine eyes «from shedding» tears,
 For thy work shall be rewarded⁸ ,
 and they shall return from the land of the enemy.
 16 For there is a hope in thine end⁷ ,
 and thy children shall return to their country. (31. 15).

(α) 31, 15 Thus said JHVH. (β) said JHVH (γ) 16 said JHVH.

These words were surely not spoken by the prophet to encourage a handful of Israelites who remained in the country among the new settlers, but they were uttered by a prophet who lived in the exile and suffered with all his brethren.

Here is a short poem which reminds us of the style and the spirit in which Deutero-Isaiah wrote his prophecies : ¹⁰

31, 7^c A great company they shall return ^α ,
 8 with weeping and supplications I will lead⁸ them.
 I will cause them to walk by the brooks of water
 in a straight way, wherein they shall not stumble.
 For I am a father to Israel
 and Ephraim is my first born.

(α) 31, 7c here.

(β) 31, 8 they will come.

Further on, in another poem, the prophet assured the exiled people that their captivity would not last very long. Therefore, he asked them to put up marks on their way to captivity so that they would be able to find their way home easily, for they would surely return by the same road ¹¹.

בכני β ובתחנונים אובילים	α קהל גדול ישובו 31,7c,8	10.
בדרך ישר לא-יכשלו-בה	אוליכם אל-נחלי מים	
ואפרים בכרי הוא :	כיהייתי לישראל לאב	

(β) יבאו

(α) חנה

שמי לך תמרוקים	31,20 הצבי לך צינים	11.
דרך הלכת "ת"שבי α :	שתי לבק למסלה	

(β) בתולת ישראל

(α) שבי אל-עריך אלה

31, 20 Set thee up waymarks,
 make thee guide-posts ;
 Set thine heart toward the highway,
 for, the road thou wentest «thou» shalt return α: [β].

(α) O virgin of Israel	(β) turn again to thy cities.
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In verses 35-36 the prophet informs or assures his coreligionists that Israel will *remain* as a nation, *i. e.* they will not assimilate with their neighbors, the Assyrians or Arameans, as long as sun, moon and stars shine upon the earth. "If those ordinances depart from before me, (saith JHVH), then the seed of Israel also shall cease from being a nation before me forever" (Jer. 31, 36).

I believe that Jer. 10, 1-16 was also written by an Israelitish prophet. The writer contrasted the worship of the Assyrians with the worship of JHVH, and warns his people against following the customs of the heathen ¹²:

10, 2 Learn not the way of the heathen
 and be not dismayed at the signs of the heaven.
 Though the heathen be dismayed from them,
 for the customs of the peoples are vain.

These words were directed against the worship of the moon-god *Sin* and the sun-god *Šamaš*. The eclipse of the moon and the sun are still held in the East as signs of coming evil, generally war. This is probably the reason for the dismay mentioned by the prophet. In verses 3^b-4 the writer describes the making of the various idols, and in the following verses he speaks of them sarcastically: *They are upright as the palm tree, but they speak not ; They must need be borne, because they cannot go ;* and now he addresses his co-religionists : *Be not afraid of them, for they cannot do evil neither are they able to do good.* But JHVH is the Almighty one. *Who would not fear Thee, O King of the nations!* (Jer. 10, 7). The monotheistic idea has been carried on, even into the exile. The idea of the universality of JHVH was more developed among the Israelites. *Forasmuch as among the wise men of the nations and in all their kingdoms, there is none like unto Thee* (Jer. 10, 7). JHVH is the true God, He is a living God and an Everlasting King. At His wrath the earth trembles and all the nations shall not be able

10,2 אל־דֶּרֶךְ הַגּוֹיִם אֶל־תִּלְמְדוּ וּמִאֲתוֹת הַשָּׁמַיִם אֶל־תִּסְתַּבְּרוּ 12.
 כִּי־יִסְתַּבְּרוּ הַגּוֹיִם מִהֶמָּה כִּי־תִקְוֶת הָעַמִּים הִבִּלָּה 3α

to abide His indignation ¹³. There is a point of interest concerning the passage (Jer. 10, 1-16) mentioned above which may be brought out here. As one may note, verse 11 was written in Aramaic. This is natural for a prophet who is surrounded by nations who spoke this language, but not for a prophet like Jeremiah, who was living in Judea where the Hebrew language was still the dominating tongue of the people.

There are only a few traces of the prophecies written by Israelite prophets in the exile, before Nahum. When these prophecies reached the hands of the compilers, without the name of an author, they were taken to be Jeremianic, and therefore, were appended to the book of Jeremiah. A clear case of appending may be shown by Jer. 50, where the fall of Babylonia was described, and consequently, could not have been written by Jeremiah, who lived during the splendor of the Babylonian regime, but it must have been written by a prophet contemporary with Deutero-Isaiah. I realize that a detailed discussion along these lines is out of place here, but I hope to discuss it elsewhere in the future.

After considering the development of Israelitic prophecy in the Exile before the fall of Nineveh, we may strongly endorse SCHIFFER's statement, that the Israelites had places of worship for JHVH. The orthodox people among them even preserved the particle of יהו or יה as a prefix or suffix in the names of their children (even in the case where they themselves had a heathen name, cf. SCHIFFER, p. 23), down to the fall of Nineveh.

So far, we have discussed only the religious problem. But what about the social standing of the exiles among the Assyrians, and what was the attitude of the Assyrian monarchs toward them? SCHIFFER (p. 31) supplies us the information. We know that the Israelites were something more than mere slaves, for they were allowed to engage in trade, and many of them achieved remarkable success. "Wir lernen z. B. in dem Kontrakte K 383 Rev. 7-9 einen "Sekretär" אחרים, einen "Städteobersten" פקה, einen königlichen "Hausmeister" נרביה kennen. Wir begegnen ferner einem "Hausmeister" und einem "Schatzmeister" Axiram. Auf 80-7-19, 48 Rev. 2

¹³. Although some Israelites did not deny the existence of the gods of their neighbors, just as their brothers in Assuan. *Mibtah-Jah* for instance, swears by the Egyptian goddess *Sati* (cf. A. COWLEY, *Aramaic Papiri of the fifth century B. C.* (Oxford 1923), No 14, l. 5, p. 42); this was the case also in *Kannu* "le contre-venant aux accords conclus paiera une amende au trésor du dieu A-u habitant *Kannu*" (VAT 5399), mais *Ša'ûl* fils d'*Au-salim* règle avec *Hanni* et *Nabû-Mušēçi* que l'amende sera soldée au trésor d'*Ašur* (VAT 5391) et c'est là l'habitude" (L. GRAY, p. 23).

wird ein עמרם (*Am-ra-mu*) als (*amīl*) KU. KA. SAR *ša ekal*. "Hof-Zuckerbäcker" (?) und ein נבות (*Na-bu-ti-i*) *rab qi-ṣir ša* UŠ. BAR. MEŠ "Oberwebermeister" genannt. Thus the Israelites were superior in their accomplishments to their neighbors the Arameans, though the number of the former was very small in comparison ¹⁴.

SCHIFFER threw up his hands in despair and concluded : " Der confluxus gentium, wie ihn Mesopotamien nach dem Falle Ninives (608-606 B.C., but now after GADD's discovery 612-610 B. C.) erlebte, brachte auch das völlige Aufgehen der Hebräer im Aramäertum mit sich, damals als die Sprache der Aramäer fast über den ganzen, vordern Orient sich zu verbreiten begann ". I do not agree with the last statement made by SCHIFFER. I believe that the Israelites continued to observe their religion even after the destruction of the Assyrian empire. SCHIFFER failed to trace what happened to them after the fall of Nineveh in view of the fact that our knowledge about the conquest of Assyria was at that time very limited. Undoubtedly, a great many of the Israelites were assimilated, either to the Assyrians, or to the Arameans. The majority of the loyal worshippers of JHVH, however, could not have disappeared so quickly, that Ezekiel could neither have heard of them nor knew anything about them. According to SCHIFFER, Ezekiel lived near a river Xâbûr "jenseits des Tigris", during the exile, only about 10 or 15 years after the downfall of Assyria (*cf.* SCHIFFER, p. 30) ¹⁵.

After having shown that the Israelites adhered to the worship of JHVH during the Assyrian captivity there will be no difficulties in accepting the view, that the prophet Nahum was an Israelite and that he lived in Assyria, probably in *Elkosh*, a city to the north of Nineveh ¹⁶. It is easy to understand how Nahum, as a resident in Assyria, witnessed the destruction of the capital of Assyria and depicted it with minute details. We can understand now why the prophet Nahum refers to JHVH as a *God of Vengeance*.

¹⁴. WINCKLER in 1894 studied a certain letter belonging to the set of *Kannu'*, which was placed later (1902) in the VIth vol., p. 684 of the *Harper's Assyrian and Babylonian letters*. Some more material was published by JOHNS, in PSBA March and May 1908.

¹⁵. SCHIFFER identified the river *Kebar* (Heb. כְּבַר, *ct.* Del., *Paradies*, p. 48) with a river *Xâbûr*, but HILPRECHT and CLAY pointed out that the river *Kebar* (נַחַר כְּבַר) must be *Nâr Ka-ba-ri-i* near Nippur (BEUP, Vol. IX, pl. 50, tb. 84, p. 2).

¹⁶. *Cf.* HAUPT's *Nahum*, JBL Vol. 26, p. 2, (1907) and OLMSTEAD, HA, p. 638, and *ct.* both concerning *Elkosh*.

The prophet himself, who was a descendent of the Israelite captives who a century and a score of years before were exiled from their country by the cruel Assyrian monarchs no doubt witnessed the final destruction of the great empire. Although the Israelites were not on their soil for more than a century, yet they succeeded in preserving their national identity. This was the miracle of JHVH which was foretold by a prophet previous to Nahum. I may also conjecture that the great sage Daniel, mentioned several times (Ez. 14, 14.20 ; 28, 3) by Ezekiel, lived before the fall of Nineveh. Daniel may have been the advisor of the King of Assyria (not of Babylonia) and was an aged person when the Median King Kyaxares¹⁷ conquered Nineveh. The sixth chapter of Daniel contains the nucleus for the whole book which was written in a very late period¹⁸. The writer of the story knew that the scene took place, not in Babylonia, but in Media, probably at *Agbatana* (Hebrew אַחַבְתָּא) the capital of the Medes. There is no mention of Babylonia in this chapter¹⁹. It is of great interest to see how close are the expressions in Jeremiah 10, 6-7, especially the Aramaic verse 11, to Daniel 6, 27-28. Josephus relates that the king of Media, Darius, (the Greeks have another name for him) carried Daniel to Media. Moreover, according to Josephus, the scene of Daniel in the den of lions occurred in Agbatana, not in Babylonia. (JOSEPHUS, *Book X, Chapter XI*, 4-7). It seems that Josephus had some other source than the book of Daniel for this information, especially about the tower built in Agbatana of which we have no mention at all in the book itself.

I believe that Habbaquq was an Israelitic prophet and lived in Assyria. PEISER²⁰ pointed out that this prophet was familiar with the cuneiform writing. Habbaquq was a contemporary of Nahum. It is important to note here that the book of Nahum, and the book of Habbaquq were kept together, even in the MT, in order to show the relationship between them.

¹⁷. Possibly Darius the king of Media, mentioned in Daniel 6, 1, was not Darius Hystaspis. There are two reasons for confusing the name Kyaxares with Darius. The first is due to the peculiarity in pronunciation of the Median name-Uwakistar or the Persian for Uwakstra (cf. GADD'S FN, p. 33, remark 6) which was strange to a Semite, and the second, due to the remote period of history at which the book of Daniel was written.

¹⁸. Cf. PRINCE J. D., *The Book of Daniel* (Leipzig, 1899), p. 13.

¹⁹. The expression in Dan 6, 14 מִן בְּנֵי יְהוּדָה דִּי יְהוּדָה does not mean *from the people of the Judean captives*, but *from the exiled people who believe in JHVH*, and probably the text read יְהוּדָה דִּי יְהוּדָה instead the MT דִּי יְהוּדָה.

²⁰. MVAG, 1903, 1 ; F. E. PEISER, *Der Prophet Habakuk*, p. 5.

I further conjecture, that certain chapters in the book were written before the book of Nahum. The first chapter of Habbaquq was probably written by an Israelitic prophet, who lived in *Gozan* or on the *Xabur* in the midst of the battle field of the Assyrians and Chaldeans about 615-614 B.C., shortly after the great victories of Nabopolassar against the *Suxu* and *Xindanu* and the *Saxiru* and *Balixu* countries west of the Tigris. This may be applied exactly to the time when Nabopolassar marched eastward to meet the Median conqueror at Aššûr in 614 B. C. The Chaldeans mentioned in Habbaquq 1, 6 as prepared to attack, were aiming against Nineveh, not Judea ²¹. In 2, 7 the prophet alludes to the Chaldeans as *bitters* (נשכִּיךְ) who formerly caused the Assyrian monarchs much trouble, and by *vexers* or *wavers* (מועִיֵּךְ) he refers to the barbarous tribes of the Medians, who often attacked the north-eastern countries of the empire. "And thou shalt be for booties unto them" hints at the division of the territory of the vast empire between the Chaldeans and the Medians about 612 B.C.

While Nahum lived in *Elkosh*, a city near Nineveh, (cf. LEHMANN-HAUPT, *Israel*, p. 150) and witnessed the destruction of that city, Habbaquq lived in the western part of the Assyrian empire near *Kannu'*, which was some distance from Nineveh, and accordingly witnessed the battles between the Babylonians and Assyrians. From his complaints we learn that he also suffered during these bloody battles. He may also have been taken captive by the Chaldean troops with many of his brethren and brought to Nineveh where the booty was divided in 612 B.C. (GADD, FN, p. 40 ; line of tab. 48-49). This is not the proper place to discuss either Habbaquq, Nahum, or Daniel, but I wished to refer to them since they have some connection with my present work. I hope to discuss these prophets more extensively in a special work.

The conclusions that we can draw are as follows :

1. The Israelites lived in Assyria, Elam, Media and probably Babylonia (not in a mysterious country) as a national religious sect.
2. They established temples which were devoted to the worship of JHVH, just like their co-religious brothers, the settlers in Iêb-Elephantine.
3. Among the Israelites there rose up prophets of fame, even in the exile, but unfortunately, we know very little about them. The compilers of the OT knew only the names of the prophet Nahum and Habbaquq, but they knew still less about the composers of Jeremiah 10 and 31 and other chapters appended to different prophets.

²¹. The expression מְנַמֵּת פְּנֵיהֶם קְדִימָה therefore is correct. The passage in Habbaquq 2, 5-8 is characteristically applied to the Assyrian empire.

4. The language and the style of both prophets, Nahum and Habbaquq, indicate that the authors were masters in their art.

5. The Israelites as a nation were not restricted to one location, but they held all the privileges belonging to faithful citizens of Assyria.

6. The daily occupations of the Israelites were not limited. Some of them were farmers, others were dealers and traders in all lines of commerce, especially slave traders. They were given the right to travel freely from one place to another throughout the territory of the empire.

7. Their social rank was very high. Some Israelites held prominent offices in the state, and they were famous for their wisdom. I believe that Daniel and Axiqar were Israelite characters and lived during this period.

8. The dominating language among them was, at first, the Assyrian, but later, the Aramaic displaced the former, so that toward the middle of the VIIth century B.C., some deeds were written in Assyrian with an Aramaic translation, but the later deeds were written only in Aramaic. This accounts for the Aramaic language in which both the book of *Axiqar* and the VIth chapter of the book of Daniel were written. (Cf. SCHIFFER'S recent view in the "Oriens", vol. I, 1 pp. 30-31).

9. The national language undoubtedly was Hebrew, and the prophets wrote their prophecies only in this language. Just as we shall see later, that the prophets in Babylonia and Elam, like Deutero-Isaiah and others, wrote their prophecies in a beautiful Hebrew style, while the dominant language was Aramaic.

Under these circumstances the Israelites lived in Assyria at large before the fall of Nineveh in 612 B.C.

2. The Babylonian Exile.

For many years Assyria was threatened by the invasion of barbaric Median tribes, who now and then attacked the peaceful colonies of the Assyrian empire. About 626 B.C. Nabopolassar declared himself as the king of Babylonia and later allied himself with Kyaxares, the king of the Median tribes, with the intention of overthrowing the Assyrian empire. The alliance between the conquerors was strengthened by the marriage of Nabopolassar's son, Nebuchadnezzar, to Amytis, the daughter of the king of Media ²². After a great deal of struggling, the four known

²². ED. MEYER, *Gesch. des Alterthums* (1884), Vol. 1, p. 576.

cities : *Nineveh*, *Dûr Šarrukên*, *Kalax*, and *Aššur* were destroyed both by fire and flood. The probability of the flooding of Nineveh has been urged by Professor HAUPT ²³.

"After having captured *Dûr Šarrukên* and other fortified places north and east, the besiegers could not cut off the water supply of Nineveh. At the point in the eastern *enceinte*, where the *Xûsur* enters the city there are three great dams. If these flood-gates were destroyed by the enemies, the *Xûsur*, swelled by the melting snow in the spring, and not diverted into the moats and ditches, may have flooded the city so that Nineveh, as Nahum says, was *like a pool of water*. The *Xûsur* with its unchecked spring floods may have undermined the southern portion of the acropolis, the mound of Kouyunjik, so that, as Nahum says, *the palace was tottering*".

The book of Nahum in which the prophet, as an eye-witness, depicts vividly the destruction of Assyria is invaluable to us, not only as an historical document, but also as a wonderful poetic composition. The same thing may also be said of the book of Habbaquq. The nation, which had destroyed the Israelitish civilization in Samaria, and which wanted to annihilate the people of Israel through assimilation, was finally also given *the poisonous cup of JHVH* and suffered, like all other nations, deportation and disaster. The great vengeance of JHVH was, that the Israelites, who were carried away from their country a century and a score of years before, and who, in spite of all the miserable conditions that they had to undergo, succeeded in preserving the integrity of their national creed, and witnessed the final destruction of their conquerors.

The Median and Chaldean conquerors agreed to divide the Assyrian empire among themselves in this manner. The former took possession of all the territory of the countries to the east and north of the Tigris, and the latter, all the countries on the western side, including Mesopotamia and Syria. Thus the Israelites, who were living on the western borders of the Tigris, became ultimately Chaldean subjects, while those who were located on the eastern side, became Median subjects ²⁴. In order to assure his victory in the north of Mesopotamia, Nabopolassar adopted the Assyrian monarch's tactics and deported as many of the people as he could from the North down to Babylonia. RAWLINSON, in one of his essays on

²³. JBL, 26,7; also C.F. LEHMANN-HAUPT, *Israel*; (Tübingen, 1911), p. 149.

²⁴. ED MEYER, GA, (1884) Vol. I, p. 577 ff.

the first book of HERODOTUS, remarked as follows : "It is not improbable that besides an augmentation of territory, Babylonia gained at this time a great increase in its population. It appears to be certain that Nineveh was not only taken, but also destroyed, and the bulk of the inhabitants would thus become the captives of the conquerors. Babylonia would undoubtedly receive her full share of prisoners, and hence would have at her disposal from the very foundation of the empire a supply of human labor capable of producing gigantic results" ²⁵.

The Babylonian chronicle deciphered by GADD, 1923, which finally fixes the exact date of the fall of Nineveh, has shed also a considerable light upon our subject. From this tablet we learn that Nabopolassar waged war against the Assyrians in the northern section of Mesopotamia for many years (616-608 B.C.). Although he did not conquer Nineveh, yet he certainly helped a great deal in destroying the power of the vast empire. A great many battles which Nabopolassar fought took place in the area extending from *Haran* on the west, the *Tigris* on the east, and the *Suxu* and *Xindanu* countries in the south, i. e. north of Babylonia. All this area included also the new home of the Israelites in *Xalax*, *Xâbûr* and *Gôzan*, since on the tablets we read ²⁶ (line 47) : *In the month of Elul, the 20th day, Kyaxares and his army returned to his land, and the king of Akkad (turned ?) back; (line 48) they went as far as the city Nicibis and prisoners and slaves (?). (line 49) and of the land of Ruçâpu (רצפ) they brought to Nineveh before the face of the king of Akkad (line 63). The king of Akkad reached Xarran, the city was captured* ²⁷. We must assume that Israelitish colonies were involved in these wars. It is not improbable that among the large number of the prisoners taken from Assyria, especially from the region inhabited by the Israelites, were many of the worshippers of JHVH. Thus a great many colonies of the Israelites were destroyed, and the colonists were taken as captives to Babylonia. The Israelites were not specified as such here, because they were Assyrian subjects and they were treated as such. The destruction of the Assyrian colonies and the deportation of a large number of captives and slaves may substantiate Berosus' accounts which tell that

25. RAWLINSON'S *Herodotus* (1858-60), Vol. I, p. 524.

26. (Line 47) *araz ulûli ûmu XX-kam m uma-kis-tar u ummân-šu ana mâti-šu it-tûr arki-šu šar ,Ak-(kadi-ki).*

(Line 48) *adi âl na-çi-bi-ni il-li-ku, xu-ub-ti u ga-lu-tu ka-(šit-ti ?)*

(Line 49) *u mâtru-ça-pu an apa-ni šarri Akkadi-(ki) ana Ninua-(ki) u-bil-lu-ni.*

27. (Line 63) *Šar Akkad-(ki) ana âlXar-ra-ni ek-šu-dam-ma u iç-ça-bat.*

many Assyrians were taken to Babylonia as slaves or laborers to build up the colossal buildings erected by Nabopolassar and later by his son Nebuchadnezzar. After the destruction of Nineveh, and after much bloodshed in the center and north of Mesopotamia, these regions were deserted. Under these circumstances, many Israelites whom the hand of the enemy did not reach, would willingly migrate to Babylonia, which within a short period of time attained the fame of Assyria. I may conjecture that an Israelitish settlement of some size was created in Babylonia during, and perhaps even by, the Assyrian regime. Now the new toll of captives and emigrants was added to the old settlement and formed large colonies, one of which was the colony in Nippur.

The French Assyriologist LEON GRV made a special study of the names which appear on the contract tablets from Kanna', Nippur, of the Murašu and Sons, and those of the settlers in Iêb-Elephantine as they appear on the Aramaic papyri. He compared all these names with the names found in Ezra and Nehemiah and formulated his suggestions as follows : " Au terme de cette étude, si nous rapprochons les contrats assyriens de Kanna' des documents de Nippur, nous remarquerons d'abord la parenté que les uns et les autres manifestent au point de vue de l'onomastique avec les livres bibliques d'Esdras-Néhémie ou des Chroniques " (p. 20 and further). " Que l'un ou l'autre, que plusieurs de ces noms aient été portés à l'avance par les exilés de Nippur, et auparavant par les colons de Kanna', cela ne doit pas surprendre ; ces noms pouvaient exister antérieurement encore et avoir par derrière eux un passé déjà long (p. 21). GRV then points out an important fact : " A Kanna', les théophores en *AU* étaient fréquents et les composés en *El* très rares. A la période persane, ces composés en *El* ont été fort nombreux, alors qu'en même temps ils faisaient entièrement défaut à Eléphantine ". " Le Dieu d'Israël est invoqué à Kanna' sous les noms d'*AU* (en tête du nom) et de *JAU* (en queue du nom) ; en Babylonie, où la prononciation π est plus marquée, on écrira, *Jahû*.... Mais en Assyrie, il paraît assuré que *A-A* était Jahvé pour les Israélites de Gôzan " (p. 24).

The emigrants settled among their brothers and practised their religion just as they were doing in Kanna'. It is not improbable that some prophets of the followers of Nahum and Habbaquq established a prophetic school in Babylonia, and thus, they strengthened the cult of JHVH in their new location.

After the fall of the Assyrian kingdom, Babylonia, within a short period of time, became a great center of civilization. Nabopolassar died,

and his son, the great warrior Nebuchadnezzar, succeeded him, and continued to carry out the plan of his father, which was to make Babylonia a great empire in the East and West. In 597 B.C. Nebuchadnezzar stood at the gates of Jerusalem. He conquered the city without much of a struggle and carried into captivity the king of Judea, Jehoiachin, his family and all the craftsmen and smiths, 3,023 persons in all, and brought them to Babylonia (Jer. 52, 28 ; 2 K, 24, 14) ²⁸.

Among the first toll of captives in 597 B.C. was the prophet Ezekiel. When the Judean captives came to Babylonia, they already found a great settlement of their brethren, the Israelites. One of these settlements was in Nippur. Naturally, the worship of JHVH in Judea was somewhat different in rites from that which was practised by the Israelites in the exile. Ezekiel and his followers, therefore, could not agree at first with the Israelitic method of worship. This difference in principles resulted in two different factions of the worshippers of JHVH in the exile. The technical name given to the Israelitic faction was *The House of Israel* (בית ישראל), and that of the Judeans was called *The House of Judah* (בית יהודה). Ezekiel considered the opposite faction as a rebellious faction, and called them *The Rebellious House* (בית מר), "for they and their fathers transgressed against me" (Ez. 2, 3). In this connection I wish to point out that in several passages

²⁸. A passage in Rashi (2 K. 24, 14) interprets the controversy between these two statements as follows: עשרת אלפים גולה יהודים שלשת אלפים וגו' ומבנימין ומשאר השבטים ז' אלפים. *Ten thousand captives, three thousand Judeans etc., and from Benjamin and the other tribes seven thousand* (cf. *Monumenta Talmudica*, Vol. 1, 634, Chapter 26). He agrees with Jeremiah that there were only three thousand Judeans, and the other seven thousand were Israelites residing in Judea. It is important to note that all the Judeans exiled in Babylonia did not exceed 4600 (cf. Jer. 52, 28). I do not agree with E. MEYER's view (*Entstehung des Judenthums*, p. 112) on this subject, who tried to enlarge this figure to forty thousand in order to adjust it to the number of those who returned from Babylonia under the regime of Cyrus. Besides the comparison that he draws from the Israelitic exile under Sargon II, 722 B.C. is erroneous, for at that time there were not 60,000 soldiers in Israel, this number existed before Tiglath-Pileser took into captivity about half if not more of the Israelitish population in 734 B.C. (cf. SCHIFFER, K. Sp. p. 28). The number of the Return reached over forty thousand (cf. Ezr. 2, 64 and E. MEYER, *Entst. des Jud.*, p. 114). If we accept the theory that the number of Israelite worshippers of JHVH who settled in Babylonia before the Judeans, was several times larger than the number of Judeans, it will explain the fact, that even though forty thousand returned, the majority of the wealthy class remained in Babylonia. It is easy to see how the Israelites, who were accustomed to life in the exile, could develop and establish better business than the handful of Judeans, during fifty years. We must assume that Nebuchadnezzar did not free his captives immediately, but they were bondsmen for a considerable length of time, cf. W. ROSENAU, *Hebrew Union College Jubilee Vol.* (Cincinnati, 1925) p. 79.

(2, 9 ; 3, 18 ; 11, 11. 17 ; 13, 11 ; 32, 32 ; 33, 14-16) of the book of Jeremiah we find the terms *The House of Judah* (בית יהודה) and *The House of Israel* (בית ישראל) used in the same sense as in Ezekiel. If we assume that these passages are Jeremianic, then we may conjecture that even Jeremiah, though he was very far from Babylonia and Elam, knew about the existence of the Israelites in those countries as a faction separate from the Judeans. While the Judean's native tongue was Hebrew, the language of the Israelites was at that time, largely Aramaic, but they could also understand Hebrew. Ezekiel doubted at first whether *the rebellious house* could understand the message of JHVH delivered in Hebrew, but JHVH tells "*the son of man*" ²⁹ "*For thou art not sent to a people of a strange speech and of a hard language, but to the 'House of Israel'*" (Ez. 3, 5) who do know the Hebrew language. "*But the House of Israel will not hearken unto thee, for they will not hearken unto me, for all the House of Israel are impudent and hard hearted*" (Ez. 3, 7). Another passage in Ezekiel throws more light upon this subject. "*So the wind lifted me up and took me away and I had to go* ³⁰ *in spite of my wish, when the hand of JHVH was strong upon me. Then I came to the captivity, at Tel-Abib, that dwelt by the river Kebar, and I sat where they lived, and I remained silent among them for seven days*" (Ez. 3, 14-15). From this passage we learn that the Judean captives among whom Ezekiel lived, were far away from the Israelitish settlement, and Ezekiel unwillingly was forced to visit the *House of Israel* and deliver the message of JHVH to them. It seems that after a short period the Israelites acknowledged the greatness of Ezekiel, and occasionally the elders of their community used to visit his prophetic school and seek his advice (Ez. 14, 1 ; 20, 1).

A great many of the Israelites, who, with their fathers, had been worshipping JHVH faithfully, began to doubt, whether after all, their hope of returning to their own country some day would ever be realized. Indeed they had been waiting for the salvation of JHVH for a whole century and three score of years but no relief was as yet seen. Ezekiel, however, encouraged these people by his beautiful allegory of "The Dry Bones" (Ez. 37, 1-15). These bones are all the House of Israel : "Behold ! they say : *Our bones became dry ! Our hope was lost ! We have been cut off !*" The answer of the prophet is full of comfort. "*I will take you out of your*

29. כי לא אל עמקי שפה וכבדני לשון אתה שלוח אל בית ישראל.

30. *bitterly* is a gloss to בחמת רוחי

graves, my people, and I will bring you to the land of Israel". Ezekiel tells us something about the union between the "House of Judah" and "the House of Israel" symbolically, as follows :

"Thou son of man take thee one TABLET (literally wood, or wooden board) and write upon it for Judah and for the Children of Israel his companions (i. e. Israelites who adapted Judaic customs and method of worship) ; then take another TABLET and write upon it for Joseph, the tablet of Ephraim, and for all the House of Israel his companions (i. e. Israelites who adhered to Israelitic culture) and join them to one another into one TABLET and they shall become one in thy hand". This performance was to be demonstrated symbolically before all the people, and when some of the audience did not understand the symbols, the prophet had to explain them saying : *"Thus said the Lord JHVH ; Behold ! I will take the TABLET of Joseph, which is in the hand of Ephraim and the tribes of Israel his fellows, and will put with it the TABLET of Judah and make them ONE tablet and they shall remain ONE in my hand".*

The Judaic conception of JHVH, as it was proclaimed by Isaiah and Jeremiah, was ethically higher and more mature than the Israelitish, but it failed to provide a ritualistic machinery to give it content, form, and expression. The extreme idealistic view concerning the worship of JHVH was rather incomprehensible to the laymen, who desired actual worship with ceremonies and pomp. The leaders of the Israelites, who understood the psychology of their people, tried very hard to hold them within the boundaries of their nationality, and gradually to lift them to the higher conception. The Judean leaders, on the other hand, refused to pay attention to these points, and considered all rites as idolatrous worship. At first, Ezekiel and his followers protested strongly against these methods of worshipping JHVH ; they considered this kind of worship as a sin against the national consciousness ; but later on they were convinced that the purer conception of JHVH was difficult for the people to grasp but may also have been the means of disintegration—because of its intangibility and abstractness. They made some compromises with the Israelitish view, which had proved to be more successful. For the masses of the people cannot think in terms of concept only, but need a concrete expression of ideas in order to give them force. Herein was the superiority of the Israelitish program which the school of Ezekiel recognized and adopted. If this compromise had not been made, the fate of Judaism in Babylonia would not have been different from that of Judaism in Egypt ; it would have disappeared.

To the joy of all the worshippers of JHVH the union of the two cultures was accomplished successfully ³¹, a short time before the death of Ezekiel. It is important to remark here, that the ingenious prophet, Deutero-Isaiah, does not make mention of this distinction between the *House of Israel* and the *House of Judah*. It is most probable that in his days these factions were not in existence. According to him, all the believers in JHVH were called עבדי יהוה, *i. e.*, *The Servants of JHVH*.

Let us investigate for a moment the purpose and importance of this union.

Both the House of Israel and the House of Judah realized that the lack of coordination in the teaching of JHVH's cult might be fatal for the whole nation ; harmony in beliefs or principles, and a great cooperation on the part of the members of both factions, on the other hand, might promote and strengthen JHVH's creed among their followers. Thus the community would be made immune against any of the heathen religions, even Zoroastrianism, a creed which already had captured the heart of many of JHVH's worshippers.

I have pointed out above that the Israelites established colonies in Elam just as they did in Kammu' and other places. In a later period the Israelites, residents of Elam, played an important role with their brothers in Babylonia, by obtaining from Cyrus a declaration to restore their homeland.

It is necessary for us, at present, to show through what channels the influence of Zoroastrianism acted upon Judaism. I believe that the influence was carried directly through JHVH's worshippers who lived in Elam, *i. e.*, Persia, since the Persian tribes, about 600 B.C. became masters of this country ; otherwise one fails to see how this influence could penetrate to the JHVH-istic community in Babylonia and create even before the conquest of Cyrus, a faction of such importance, as to arouse a strong protest against them on the part of the most prominent prophets. These people were in intimate social contact with the Persians and subject to the influence of Persian belief a long time before their brethren in Babylonia. It seems that the Zoroastrian creed exerted a considerable influence upon the worshippers of JHVH, so that a large number exhibited a strong tendency toward the Persian faith. SCHEFTELOWITZ, in his introduction to " *Die Altpersische Religion und das Judentum* " comments on that

³¹. History, H. GRAETZ, Vol. I, Ch. XVIII, p. 335-336.

peroid as follows : “ Auf die Mazda Religion, die auf einen kleinen Teil der im babylonischen Exil lebenden Juden eine Anziehungskraft ausübte, nimmt ein zur Zeit des Kyrus I. wirkender Protest Bezug. Die Gefahr der Beeinflussungen drohte besonders, als die Israeliten seit der Zerstörung des Tempels, aus ihrem heimatlichen Boden entwurzelt, in fremden Ländern unter andersgläubigen Kulturvölkern lebten. Solche Gelegenheit, fremde Anschauungen auf religiösem Gebiete anzunehmen, fanden die Juden nicht nur im babylonischen, sondern vor allem im persischen Reiche ” (p. 4).

The worship of JHVH could resist the religious competition of the Assyrian and the Babylonian beliefs, but it was very hard for it to refute the Persian belief, because of the many ideas common to both of them. “To scholarly minds there might have been great differences between the Jewish and the Persian conception concerning the Divine nature. However to the average man JHVH and Ahuramazda were identical in all respects but in name. The Persian religion, having no images, no temples and no altars, (Herodotus, I, 131) the Jews did not see any transgression in acknowledging Ahuramazda as God and identifying him with JHVH” ³⁵.

The argument that JHVH was powerless, and consequently unable to help His people was quite convincing. Some of the worshippers, the conservatives, explained these circumstances as being the result of their sins, and that they were not yet worthy to be redeemed from captivity. Other worshippers, however, interpreted differently. According to them, JHVH was either an unjust and merciless god who punished innocent children on account of their parents' sins, (*cf.* Ez. 18, 1-32 ; 33, 1-20 ; Jer. 31, 28-29), or that Satan, the deity of Evil, identified with the Persian's Ahriman, overthrew JHVH, who possesses the same virtues of Ahuramazda, and ruled instead of Him all over the world. The believers of JHVH were considered as the chosen people by Him. Israel must suffer, therefore, more than any other nation.

This difference in opinion concerning the power of the Divinity split the believers in JHVH into two opposing factions, the first of which we shall call the ORTHODOX, and the second, the REFORMERS.

³⁵. T. HOSCHANDER, *The Book of Esther in the light of History*, p. 101.

The *Orthodox* adhered to JHVH, asserted His superiority to all gods and thanked Him for the evil that He had inflicted upon them just as well as for the good He bestowed upon them. They emphasized, especially, the unity of JHVH and denied the existence of any other divine power. The second faction which I designated as *Reformers* on the other hand, being somewhat influenced by the dualistic principles of the Persian theology was not able to see how the same deity could bring calamity and at the same time happiness to his believers. A divinity of absolute love and absolute mercy, could not and must not possess human vices, such as hatred and vengeance. By this method of reasoning they arrived at the conclusion that JHVH could not create evil, and that the mere existence of evil in the world must not be attributed to Him, but to the opposing power, Satan (כַּטָּן or כַּטָּרָא אַחֲרָא in the later Hebrew literature), whose object was to mutilate and destroy every thing good created by JHVH. The faithful worshippers were thrown into captivity, not on account of their sins, nor because JHVH was angry with them, but because JHVH himself was deprived of His power by His rival. Consequently, He could not help His followers. Just as the Persians adhered to Ahuramazda even at the time of calamity, so also the worshippers of JHVH must cleave to their "*Rock*", for, after all, JHVH will some day regain His power and will once more bestow upon His zealous believers happiness and good. In the meantime, however, they must suffer with resignation all mishaps and calamities inflicted by the opposing power.

There were I believe, two factors which influenced the course of Judaism during the sixth century B.C. The first was the combination of the practical methods of the worship of JHVH such as the laws of sacrifices, religious ceremonies, etc., with the high moral ideals proclaimed by Isaiah and Jeremiah. The impression which the teachings of these prophets leave upon the readers or the hearers cannot be adequately expressed. The members of the prophetic school in the exile appreciated their work and cherished their names so much, indeed, that the late compilers of the Bible attributed all the later anonymous writings either to Isaiah or to Jeremiah, and not to other prophets. The second factor which helped in crystalizing the Jewish religion in Babylonia was the influence of the ideas of Zoroastrianism, which were introduced into the Judeo-Israelitish community in Babylonia, by the Israelites, resident in Elam (Is, 11, 11 ; Ezr. 2, 7, 31), even before the conquest of Babylonia by Cyrus ³⁶.

³⁶. It seems that Ezekiel was very well familiar with the Persians, for he mentions their names several times (Ez. 27, 10).

Let us now make a brief survey of the political conditions of the JHVH believers before the fall of Babylonia (539 B.C.).

The founder of the Chaldean empire, and more especially his son, imposed hard work on the people whom he took as prisoners. The great palaces erected by Nabopolassar and Nebuchadnezzar, the strong walls built around the capital city, the various large temples built at that period, and other public buildings (such as canals, etc.) give us a vivid idea about the hardships of the prisoners and slaves, for it was they who supplied the labor, (Is. 14, 3).

After the death of Nebuchadnezzar (561 B.C.) the condition of the worshippers of JHVH became more favorable, for Amil-Marduk (the biblical **אמיל מרדך**) released the old king of Judea, and allowed him to stay with him in his royal palace. This kind attitude of the king toward the captives strengthened the hope of the firm believers. This situation unfortunately lasted only a short while, because, after two years of reign, Amil-Marduk was assassinated by his brother-in-law. The dream of some of the believers to return to their own country thus vanished. It is natural to assume that the servants of JHVH, who looked upon Amil-Marduk as a savior, would hate the murderer, consequently, they had to suffer for their ill-will. The dynasty of the murderer did not last long. A Babylonian fanatic made an end of the life of the son of Neriglissar in order to enable someone of his party, the Babylonians, to ascend the throne.

Nabonidus was elected king, not because he showed great strategic and organizing abilities, but because he exhibited a great religious devotion. Many old temples were razed to their foundations and new ones erected on the same spot. It is not improbable that the nationalist party "entreated Nabonidus to free them from captivity and permit them to return to their country. They must have been encouraged to hope for the realization of their wishes by the fact that Merbal, a noble Phoenician exile of the royal house, had been permitted by Nabonidus to return and to rule over his own country, and after his death, his brother Hiram was allowed to succeed him" (GRÆTZ, Vol. I, p. 342). Chances may have been that Nabonidus would confer the same favor upon the servants of JHVH. The king, however, did not pay any heed to their petition. This discrimination increased the hatred of the patriotic exiles against Babylonia and its monarch. Nabonidus directed his persecutions against the nationalistic exiles. Some he punished severely, others were cruelly put to death. Upon many, not excepting even the aged, he imposed hard labor.

Nabonidus left Babylonia in the 3rd year of his reign and journeyed to Tema in Arabia, where he spent many years. This place, according to the latest cuneiform tablets, he made like Babylon ³⁷. The son of Nabonidus, *Bêl-šar-uṣur*, did not assume the title king of Babylonia as in Daniel (5, 30), but he was acting only as a regent instead of his father, who, now and then, used to visit the capital. *Bêl-šar-uṣur* treated the worshippers of JHVH still worse than his father because he considered them traitors, or believed they were conspiring with their brothers in Elam to deliver the country into the hands of Cyrus.

An unknown prophet who lived in Babylonia at that period describes the circumstances as follows ³⁸:

Robbed and spoiled is this people,
all of them were cast into cells ^α,
They were a prey, and none delivereth,
as a spoil, and none saith, Restore ! (Is. 42, 22).

(α) They were hidden in prison houses.

All this chastisement was not enough. The regent ruler issued a decree that any faithful citizen of Babylonia may smite, slap the cheeks, or even spit in the face of JHVH's worshippers. Violence of this sort would not be prosecuted by the law (Is. 50, 6). Often the JHVH fearers were ridiculed

³⁷. Cf. DOUGHERTY, *Nabonidus in Tema* in JAOS, Vol. 42, pp. 305-316 ; also SMITH SIDNEY, *Babylonian Historical Texts*, 1924, pp. 63-97. A quotation of SIDNEY's book may proper on this occasion.

Col. II, "A Persian Verse Account of Nabonidus", Translation, p. 88f.

(18) (One) camp he put in charge of his eldest child (*i. e.*, Belshazzar).

(19) The troops he sent through the land with himself.

(20) He struck his hands, he entrusted the kingship to him,

(21) While he himself set out on a far journey.

(22) The forces of Akkad advanced with him,

(23) Towards Tema' in Amurru he set his face.

(24) He set out on a far journey, a road not within reach of old.

(25) They slew the king of Tema' with the sword,

(26) The dwellers in his city and country, all of them they slaughtered.

(27) But he set the god (Sin ?) in his dwelling, the army of Akkad...

(28) That city he adorned, he made it.....

(29) They made it like the palace of Babylon.....

הָפַח בְּתוֹרִים כָּלֵם ^α	וְהוּא עַם-בְּזוּז וְשֹׁמוֹ	38.
לְמִשְׁכָּהּ וְאִין-אָמַר הִשָּׁב :	הָיוּ לְבָז וְאִין-מִצִּיל	

(α) וּבִבְתֵי כָלֵאִים הִחְבְּאוּ

bitterly by their neighbors and enemies for their strong belief in JHVH and because they expected salvation from Him ³⁹.

Where is their God they said
the rock in whom they sheltered,
The fat of their offerings he eats
and the wine of their libation he drinks,
Let him arise [this while] and help them
a shelter let him be upon them. (Deut. 32, 37-38).

But all these sufferings did not make the zealous nationalists relinquish their hope of redemption ; for their sufferings but strengthened their conviction of ultimate salvation ⁴⁰.

I have set my face like a flint
and I know that I'll not be ashamed (Is. 50, 7).

They were sure that their salvation was near. They had heard of the overwhelming victories of Cyrus over the Medians and the Lydians. Moreover they were confident that their brethren in Elam, now Persia, under the rule of the great conqueror, were trying with all their might and influence to rescue them from the hands of the cruel regent. A prophet, who most probably lived in Elam voiced this feeling to his brothers in Babylonia ⁴¹ :

Go ye forth of Babylonia,
flee from the Chaldeans,
With ^a joy ^b declare ye this
^c to the end of the land,
^d JHVH has redeemed
his servant Jacob (Is. 48, 20).

(α) voice	(β) tell ye	(γ) publish it	(δ) say ye.
	צֹר חֲסִיו בּוֹ	כִּי-אִמְרֵי יְיָ אֱלֹהֵימוֹ	39.
	יְיָ יֵשֶׁת׃ יִין נִסְכֶּם	אֲשֶׁר-חִלַּב זִבְחֵימוֹ יֹאכֵל׃	
	יְהִי׃ פִּתְרָה ¹ עֲלִימוֹ	יָקוּם׃ [עֵתָה] וַיַּעֲזֹר׃ מִיָּד	
	וְאָדַע כִּי-לֹא אֲבוֹשׁ׃	שְׁמַתִּי פָנַי כְּחֹלְמִישׁ	40.
	בָּרְחוּ מִכַּשְׁדִּים	צֵאוּ מִבָּבֶל	41.
	עַד-קֶצֶת הָאָרֶץ׃	בִּ"רִנָּה ² הַשְׁמִיעוּ-זֹאת	
	עֲבְדוּ יַעֲקֹב׃	נֹאֵל יְהוָה ³	
(δ) אִמְרוּ	(γ) הוֹצִיאוּהוּ	(β) הַגִּידוּ	(α) קוֹל

In this connection I may make a conjecture that the so-called book of Deutero-Isaiah is merely a collection of exile prophecies not belonging to one particular prophet. I am inclined to believe that a large number of these prophecies were not written in Babylonia or in Palestine, but in Elam under the Persian ruler, as the contents of the prophecies suggests.

The following reasons may be given in favor of the last statement :

1. It is very hard to imagine that a prophet in a foreign country would dare to express his prophecies openly in which he condemns the ruler and that kingdom without being executed immediately.

2. The victories of Cyrus could not have been heralded and celebrated in Babylonia or Palestine, but in the homeland of the conqueror.

3. The worshippers of JHVH in Elam were the only people who could use their influence, at that time, to induce the young conqueror to free their suffering brothers in Babylonia and grant them permission to return and restore their country.

4. All the prophecies in which the name of Cyrus was mentioned were written in Elam after Cyrus had declared his intention to deliver the servants of JHVH from the Babylonian oppressor. A prophecy like that which I have mentioned above (Is. 48, 20) could not have been composed before this event had taken place.

5. Nehemia's sincere interest in the fate of his brothers in Palestine a century later reminds us of the great zeal for the national cause and the loyalty to it exhibited by his grandfathers, resident in Persia.

The circumstances may be thus summarized :

- a. The community of the exiles in Babylonia and adjoining countries was divided into three main factions :

- (1) The Nationalists or Orthodox,
- (2) The Reformers,
- (3) The Indifferents or Assimilators.

The Nationalists were the firm believers in JHVH and may be compared to the Zionists of today.

The Reformers were those who made compromises between Judaism and Zoroastrianism by adapting certain dualistic principles in JHVH's belief.

The Indifferents were all those of the exiles who cared very little for their nationality. Their aim was to become real Babylonians or Persians (*cf.* Ez. 20, 30 ; Is. 50, 10-11).

b. The Nationalists were mercilessly persecuted in Babylonia by Bēl-sar-uṣur, for the latter considered them traitors.

c. The victories of Cyrus over the Medians and the Lydians gave hope to the sufferers, and inspired them with the confidence that the end of Babylonia was near.

d. The great messages of comfort sounded by the prophets from Elam inspired them with great enthusiasm and made them ready to endure all sufferings.

We must bear in mind these conditions while we examine the contents of our poem, for they are clearly reflected in this composition. The work, as we may notice from the opening line, belongs to the type of didactic literature. Some of the worshippers of JHVH could not understand why *they* should suffer and be persecuted, while the unbelievers enjoyed the best in life. The poet, full of comforting spirit, seeks to explain and teach his hearers the ways of JHVH (Deut. 32, 4).

He goes step by step, noting the kindness and the righteousness of JHVH to His people, and, on the other hand, the ingratitude of His *chosen nation* toward Him. *JHVH, then, is a faithful God and not unjust*, (cf. also Ex. 15, 24-31). After a short introduction the poet begins with the history of all nations, proving that JHVH had chosen Jacob for *His lot* from among all the other nations. It is interesting to note here that in relating the birth and the early history of the nation, the prophet does not even mention the fact of the Exodus, which was so strongly emphasized by all the other prophets. According to this prophet JHVH did not deliver Jacob from the Egyptian slavery, but *He found him in the desert where the blast howls*. (Deut. 32, 10). Above all, the prophet stresses here the idea that no other deity was with JHVH when he led Israel through the desert (Deut. 32, 12). The conquest of Palestine and the natural resources of the country are described poetically. Jeshurun, however, the chosen people, turned out to be ungrateful to JHVH; he worshipped various deities, but not *his Creator* (Deut. 32, 18). JHVH, therefore, withdrew His protection from him, and thus he was exposed to innumerable calamities, and to the ferocious attacks of barbarous enemies. The end was very bitter; *one of the enemies put to flight one thousand of JHVH's people, and two were sufficient to smite ten thousand* (Deut. 32, 30). Nevertheless, the foes, through their stupidity, believed that only by their might were they able to conquer the people of JHVH, and denied the fact that JHVH delivered His people into their hands in order to inflict punishment upon them. The servants

of JHVH suffered a great deal, indeed, even more than was necessary for the expiation of their sins. The cruelty of their enemies passed all limits (Is. 51, 17-23). Jeshurun drank the poisonous wine out of the cup of JHVH to the last drop. The whole community was wrecked and *there remained no protector nor helper* (Deut. 32, 36).

But the anger of JHVH against His people will not last for long. He will surely return to protect His nation, as before, for the sake of His name which was treated with disrespect by the enemies (Ez. 36, 22-24). JHVH has already prepared a poisonous wine for the enemies from the grapes of Sodom ; this wine is more virulent than the venom of a serpent, for it contains the curse of JHVH upon Sodom (Deut. 32, 32-34). The prophet knows that the downfall of the enemy is near (Deut. 32, 35) ; moreover, he expects the redemption of JHVH very soon. It is true that none of the exiles is able to get his revenge, but JHVH would no longer tolerate the bloodshed of His innocent servants, and He, Himself, will surely avenge them (Deut. 32, 43).

In conclusion we may summarize all the facts that we have gathered in the following words :

1. The community of the servants of JHVH in Babylonia, Elam, and the other adjunct countries, about the middle part of the sixth century B. C., consisted not only of Judeans, but also of a very large percentage of Israelites, who settled there long before the Judeans. Although the Israelites were in the exile a long time before the Judeans, nevertheless, they clung firmly to the belief in JHVH.

2. The Union between the Israelites and the Judeans mentioned in Ezekiel (37, 15-30) occurred about 575 B.C. The combination of the various documents, *J*, *E*, *D* and *P*, in the Pentateuch must be considered to have taken place after this important event had occurred.

3. The body of the exiles from both Judah and Israel formed three main groups, namely

- (1) The Nationalists,
- (2) The Reformers,
- (3) The Assimilators.

4. The prophet wrote this composition during the persecutions of Bêl-šar-uçur in Babylonia.

5. This prophet belonged to the nationalistic group and resided in Babylonia. He was a contemporary of Deutero-Isaiah, who most probably did not live in Babylonia but in Elam.

6. The date of the composition may be closely determined, about 545 B.C., for the prophet hinted at the fall of the foe, Babylonia, which seemed very near to him.

7. The prophet intended to teach his co-religionists *the ways of JHVH*, and moreover to refresh their hope for JHVH's redemption.

8. The author of our psalm, like Deutero-Isaiah, protested against the tendency of the Reformers to mix dualistic principles with the fundamentals of JHVHism. The composer laid a great deal of emphasis upon the monotheistic idea throughout his psalm.

So far we have treated the poem historically. In the next chapter the literary value of this composition will be discussed.

3. THE LITERARY VALUE OF THE PSALM.

From a literary point of view, this poem was used by the scholars of the OT as a key to unlock the gate of Hebrew poetry and discover its metrical system.

It is of some interest to note, that when the great orientalist, FRANTS BUHL, (Copenhagen), wished to get his friend, Ed. SIEVERS, the famous Germanic scholar, interested in the meter of Hebrew poetry, he wisely pointed out to him the Song of Moses. "Upon reading through the first passage he was very much surprised to find it clearly and almost completely metrical" (COBB, p. 169). If the regularity of the meter and the fluent style of this poem could charm a person who was far removed from Semitic studies, we may easily imagine how great was the impression that this psalm made upon Orientals who were well versed in the Hebrew language and its literature. The scribes who copied most of the prophecies of the famous prophets such as Isaiah, Jeremiah and others in a prosaic way, were careful enough to transmit this manuscript to us in its original metrical arrangement.

A line of old Hebrew poetry usually consisted of two hemistichs that were written in one line leaving some blank space between one hemistich and the other ⁴².

⁴². This method of writing poetry was also employed by the Egyptian, Assyrian and Babylonian poets. On many cuneiform tablets containing either a hymn or an incantation, this separation between the stichs was essential and can be easily seen (*cf.* NEWMAN, *Parallelism in Amos*, pp. 34-35). *Cf.* AJSL, **19**, 194¹; also **20**, 169^a.

"Each hemistich expresses a brief thought in a laconic form". The same idea is usually repeated in the second hemistich in different words so as to form parallel ideas ⁴³. This is illustrated throughout our poem. The following is an example :

- v.v. 1. Give ear O Heaven and I'll speak,
and the earth listen to my utterance.
2. May my revelation drop as rain
and my speech distill as dew.

According to the rules of the old Hebrew scribes, poetry may be written in two ways : one of them is known as *אריה על גבי אריה* meaning *one brick above the other*, that is to say, one line of poetry must be written above the other, in contra-distinction to the second way *אריה על גבי לבנה* *i. e. a brick above a blank space* ⁴⁴. Our poem serves as an illustration of the first type while the *Song of Deborah* and the *Song of the Sea* exemplifies the other.

The meter of the old Hebrew poetry is not quantitative like that of the Greek or Roman poetry but accentual, that is to say, the number of the unaccented syllables are of little importance. "The movement within the group is from unaccented to accented syllables. The terms iambic or anapestic should be reserved for the quantitative system, while Hebrew poetry which seems to resemble modern poetry is moving from stress to stress, the syllables having no constant value with the reference to the accent" (COBB, p. 5).

One line of Hebrew poetry is known as *mašal* (Assyrian *mušalu*-likeness, Arab. *mathalu*, cf. AJSL 19, 137 n. 15 also JHUC 163, 54^b) and consists of two hemistichs. The combination of the accented syllables in one stich may be of three kinds, viz :

(1) The meter consists of 3 + 3, *i. e.*, three accented syllables in each hemistich. The Song of Moses is a very clear example of this meter.

(2) The meter is formed 3 + 2, *i. e.*, three accented syllables in the first hemistich and only two in the second. This type of meter was called by BUDDE the *Qina meter*, for the book of Lamentations was composed

⁴³. The art of parallelism in ancient poetry, *i. e.*, Egyptian, Assyrian, Babylonian and Hebrew, has been fully discussed by I. L. NEWMAN in his introduction to *Parallelism in Amos*.

⁴⁴. According to Rashi כתב-אריה, *writing*, while חלק-לבנה *blank space*. Rabbenu Nissim, however, understand by לבנה = ארכה - שורה, a *long line* and אריה = קצרה - שורה a *short line* ; but Maimonides takes אריה to mean כתב, *writing* and לבנה = ריוח, *space*, cf. BEN JEHUDAH, *Thesaurus*, Vol. I, p. 390, col. 2, l. 28.

with this meter. According to Professor HAUPT this is merely a variety of the meter $3 + 3$ where the second hemistich consists of two beats, and a pause which is equivalent to the third beat. Illustrations of this meter may be found in the fortieth chapter of Isaiah and the book of Lamentations.

(3) The meter consists of $2 + 2$, *i. e.*, two accented syllables in each hemistich. The first chapter of Isaiah and the first Psalm may suffice to illustrate this meter.

In regard to the strophical arrangement of our poem scholars differ in their views. Some arrange the poem in couplets, others in triplets, and still others in pentastichs and decastichs. The most suggestive view is probably that of the pentastich order, because it is obvious that every pentastich contains one complete thought. Verses 7-9 and 10-12, for instance, form very striking pentastichs, and suggest that the poem might have been composed in pentastichs. Accordingly, I have made an attempt to rearrange the poem into stanzas of five verses each. Thus, the poem falls into twelve pentastichs and these may be grouped as follows :

Introduction, Section A, section B and conclusion.

Pentastich I (vv. 1-4) forms the introduction. The poet emphasizes JHVH's righteousness.

Section A, a retrospect of Israel's history, consists of two double pentastichs (vv. 4-18) and is subdivided as follows :

a. Pentastichs II and III (vv. 7-12). The early history of the Hebrews.

b. Pentastichs IV and V (vv. 12a-18). The kindness of JHVH versus the apostasy of Israel.

Sections B, JHVH's speech, forms three double pentastichs (vv. 19-42) and falls into the following divisions :

a. Pentastichs VI-VII (vv. 19-26). JHVH is vexed and requites His people according to their deeds.

b. Pentastichs VIII and IX (vv. 27-35). JHVH repents on account of the enemies' pride ; their punishment is stored with Him.

c. Pentastichs X-XI (vv. 37-42). JHVH answers the derision of the enemy and takes His revenge from them. The end of the speech.

Pentastich XII (vv. 36 and 43). The poet comforts his co-religionists and assures them of JHVH's redemption.

In conclusion, I may add that the poem was skilfully written. Its beautiful style, rich in poetic expressions and similes, testifies that the poet was an adept in his art.

Part II.

1. THE TRANSLATION OF THE POEM

The Song of Moses

(Deuteronomy 32)

- I. 3 The name of JHVH I proclaim ¹
render homage to our God.
1 Give ear, O Heaven, while I speak
and Earth hear my utterance ².
2 May my revelation ³ drop as rain ⁴,
and my speech distill as dew ^α.
4 The Rock ⁵ whose deed is perfect,
in all His ways is justice.
A God of truth and [not] of evil ⁶
<JHVH> is just and upright.
- A. (a) II. 7 Remember the days of yore, ⁷
the years of the past consider,
Ask thy father and 'he' will tell thee,
thy elders, 'they' will teach thee. ⁸
8 When Elyon settled the nations, []
(and countries to peoples [alloted] ;)
[When the sons of man He separated]
() as the number ⁹ of Israel's sons.
9 Then ¹ Jacob ^{1β} was JHVH's portion,
[¹ s]Israel's, the lot of His heritage ¹⁰.
- III. 10 In a land of waste He met him ¹¹
in a desert where howls the blast ;
He used to surround ¹² and 'protect' him
as the apple of His eye He kept him.
11 Like an eagle ¹³ that succors his nestlings
and around his young ones flutters ¹⁴
With wings extended he takes <them>
upon his pinion he bears <them>.
12 JHVH alone ever led him,
and no strange God was with him ¹⁵.

(α) 2 As gentle rains upon the grass,
As drops upon the plants.

(β) 9 His nation.

- (b) IV. 13a On the heights of the land he mounted him ¹⁶,
 the produce of the field ^she fed him.^s
 14b Breed ¹⁷ of Bashan and he-goats,
 and fat ^r of the kidneys of wheat ¹⁸.
 13b With honey from crags He suckled him,
 and with oil from the rocky flint ¹⁹.
 14a Curds ²⁰ of kine and milk of sheep ²¹ ;
 14c grape juice fermented 'beverage' ²².
 15a ^sBut Jacob ate and was content^s,
 Jeshurun grew fat ^δ and 'saucy'.
- V. 5 ²³ Corrupting against Him [] it's His sons defect ²⁴,
 a perverse and crooked generation.
 17 To powers non-divine they sacrificed,
 to gods of whom they knew not ²⁵,
 New-ones but just arrived ²⁶,
 by <their> fathers not yet conceived of.
 6 Dost thou 'thus' requite JHVH,
 O faithless and unwise people ^ε,
 18 Dost thou desert «the» Rock that begat thee,
 and «the» God who fashioned thee, dost forget ?

- B. (a) VI. 19 When He saw this, JHVH scorned «them»,
 and His sons and daughters <humbled>.
 20 ^ζ From them my face I'll hide ²⁷,
 what is their fate I'll show <them> ²⁸ ;
 An inconstant generation ²⁹, are they,
 sons in whom there is no trust ³⁰.
 21 With a god ³¹ not divine they provoked me,
 with their non-entities did they enrage me ;
 Them will I vex with a non-nation ³² ;
 them I'll provoke with impious people ³³.

- (γ) 14 With fat of lambs ^{αα},
 (δ) 15aβ Thou grewest fat, plump und great;
 15b He deserted God who made him,
 And disdained the rock of his salvation.
 16 With strange (gods) ^lhe provoked Him,
 With abominations ^lhe harassed Him.
 (ε) 6b He is verily Thy father, Thy owner,
 It is He who fashioned and sheltered thee.
 (ζ) 20 and He said.

(αα) and rams.

- VII. 22 ³⁴When fire [is kindled] in my nostrils,
 [and burns] to the nethermost Sheol;
 It [devours] the land and its produce,
 sets ablaze the foundations of mountains.
- 23 Evils I'll load upon them,
 mine arrows I'll exhaust against them ⁷.
- 25 Without shall the sword bereave «them»,
 within shall terror 'destroy' <them> ⁶.
- 26 'In my wrath' have I said I'll repay them
 I'll make cease from men their memory ³⁷.
- (b) VIII. 27 Did I not dread the scorn of the enemy,
 or fear lest «my deed» they deny —
 'They have said : 'Our hand is exalted' ³⁸,
 not JHVH caused all this' ³⁹.
- 28 They are people devoid of counsel,
 in them is no comprehension.
- 31 * Could one a thousand pursue
 and two a myriad make flee ^λ ?
 Were they wise 'by' this they would learn,
 they'd foresee their latter end ⁴¹.
- IX. 32 From the vine of Sodom ^μ is their vine ⁴²,
 their grapes ^ν are grapes of poison.
- 33 Their wine is venom of dragons,
 more cruel than the bane of Aspics ⁴³.

-
- (η) 24 [Faintness] from hunger ³⁵,
 and [burnings] of lava ³⁶;
 Virulent arrows,
 and teeth of «beasts» ³⁸.
- (θ) 25 Both young man and virgin,
 suckling and gray head.
- (ι) 27 lest.
- (κ) 30 How.
- (λ) 30 If it were not ^{γγ} «our» Rock who sold «us»,
 and JHVH «our» God who delivered «us» ^{δδ}.
- (μ) 32 from the fields of Gomorrah.
- (ν) clusters in which is [bitterness].

-
- (ββ) 24 Venom of reptiles I'll send against them.
- (γγ) 30 that.
- (δδ) 31 ⁴⁰For their image is not like our Rock,
 and our enemies «were» defeated.

- 34 Verily with me 'tis stored,
in treasures of my own it is sealed.
35 For ^a day^s of revenge and requital,
for the time their foot shall slip ⁴⁴;
For the day of their mishap draws near,
and the 'time' of their 'sentence' hastens.

- (c) X. 37 Where is their God ? they said,
'the' Rock in whom 'they' took refuge ;
38 The fat of their offering «he» eats,
the wine of their libation he drinks ⁴⁵;
Let him arise |*this while*| und help them ;
let him be a shelter over them ⁴⁶.
39 ⁴⁷ Lo ! || Verily I am 'JHVH'
and no other God is with me.
I slay and to life I'll restore, ⁴⁸
I smite and sound I'll make °.

- XI. 40 ⁴⁹ When to heaven my hand I'll raise ⁵⁰,
'they'll say that I live forever.
41 Whenever I whet my sword blade,
and my hand gets hold of «the rod» ;
Revenge I'll take on my foes,
to my haters 'requital' I'll render.
42a^α Blood-drunk I'll make mine arrows,
42b^α from 'the number' of captives and slain ;
42a^β And flesh my sword will devour,
42b^β from the heads of the enemies' chiefs ⁵¹.

- XII. 36 ⁵² For JHVH will avenge His people ⁵³,
and have mercy upon His servants ⁵⁴,
When he sees that support is gone
and there remains no protector nor helper ⁵⁵.
43a^α Cheer ye, O Nations, His people ;
<O Heaven, with them rejoice>.
43b^α Reprisal He'll take on His foes,
'through their sins was the land destroyed' ;
43a^β The blood of His servants He'll avenge,
43b^β the land of His people He'll cleanse.

(o) 39 there is none who can save from my hand.

2. EXPLANTATORY NOTES.

(1) To proclaim the name of a divinity means to call the coreligionist to worship. In the East, when the muezzin ascends the minaret of a mosque he proclaims the name of Allah and Muhammed. Through this proclamation every moslem is reminded of his religious duties, and thereupon he stops his work and prays. In Genesis, we very often find that calling or proclaiming the name of JHVH meant a performance of a religious ceremony. Abraham, wherever he sojourned, built an altar and proclaimed the name of JHVH (*cf.* Gn. 12, 8 ; 21, 33 etc.). When Elijah wanted to prove to the Israelites that JHVH and not the Ba'al was the true God, he built an altar and proclaimed the name of JHVH (1 K 18, 24), Deutero-Isaiah called Israel "*he who proclaims my name*", *i. e.* he who worships me (Is. 48, 12). For parallel expressions *cf.* Ex. 34, 5 ; Is. 65, 1 ; Joel 4, 5 ; Ps. 99, 6 ; 105, 1 ; 116, 4. Therefore the proclamation of JHVH's name in Dt. 32, 3 should be understood as an act of worship.

(2) The critics hold different views as to whether the Heavens and Earth were called upon to serve as witnesses or to praise the name of JHVH. That the Heavens and Earth were called upon to act as witnesses between JHVH and His people is the interpretation of certain scholars including Rashi, who says, "*Should the chosen nation break the sacred contract, let the Heavens first execute the judgment by stopping the rain and dew, and the Earth, by withholding its crops*". BUDDÉ, and those who hold similar views understand that the Heavens and Earth were summoned, not to act as witnesses, but merely, to give homage to the Lord. IE adheres to Sa'adia's view. The latter takes Heavens and Earth to mean the dwellers of the Heavens, *i. e.*, the angels, and the inhabitants of the Earth, *i. e.*, the people who live upon the Earth. Ba'al Haṭṭûrîm interprets Heavens and Earth figuratively: by *Heavens* he understands *the inhabitants of large cities* and by *Earth* — *the dwellers of small towns and villages*. According to Rsbm, the prophet addresses the haughty people as Heavens and the humble ones as Earth. I think, however, that the Heavens may suggest remoteness, on account of its great distance from the Earth, and that the prophet meant to designate by this term, remote localities, while by *Earth* signifies the near settlements, (*cf.* Dt. 30, 12).

(3) A prophetic oration. JHVH is supposed to reveal his message to the prophet first, and then the latter delivers it to the people (*cf.* Jer. 1, 9 ; 1, 13 ; Ez. 3, 1-3 ; AJP 45, 60).

(4) In order to understand these figurative expressions we must bear in mind the distressing condition of the exiles during the time of the prophet. The servants of JHVH were oppressed by the authorities, and there was no ground to hope for any further freedom in their worship. Our prophet wishes to revive the broken spirit of his hearers with his teachings, just as rain and the dew refresh and revive the plants after a summer day, (*cf.* Ps. 72, 6).

(5) The word Rock as a title for JHVH was coined during the exile as a reaction against Zoroastrianism and was probably modeled after the Ass. *šadû* "mountain". The rock is usually regarded as a symbol of great resistance (*cf.* A. WIEGAND, *Der Gottesname Çûr*, etc. in ZATW, (1890), 10, 85). JHVH is the only power in the world which cannot be overcome; He cannot be conquered by any opposing powers, as could Ahuramazda and Ahriman. The Israelites and the Judeans were not taken into captivity because Assur, Bel or Marduk had overpowered JHVH, but because He himself delivered His people into the hands of their enemies in order to punish them for their sins.

(6) The sufferings of the pious and the prosperity of the wicked brought some faithful worshippers into a dilemma. They wondered whether after all JHVH really loved piety or preferred wickedness. The poet who was a firm believer in JHVH had to protest against these strange ideas. The judgment of JHVH is always right and must not be questioned. The prophet Ezekiel, a generation earlier, directed his teachings against skeptical views which were very well developed at his time (*cf.* Ez. 18, 1-32; 33, 1-20).

(7) It refers to the very early period of mankind when all the nations were still in a nomadic stage, without any appreciable organization.

(8) In the olden times access to history could not be had through books, because there were none; the only sources of history were the elders, who transmitted orally this knowledge of the past to the new generations. All informations concerning the past could be obtained from parents.

(9) It does not refer to any special number (to the twelve sons of Israel as KLOST. believes, or to seventy people the number of Jacob's family, before they journeyed to Egypt, as Jonathan and Rashi believe, *cf.* also STEINSCHNEIDER, ZDMG 4, 155), but this passage is intended to express the large number of nations which existed in the world.

(10) The prophet did not intend to hint at any theory of Angel Guardianship which was developed in a comparatively late period. I believe, with DRIVER and KÖNIG that the MT is correct and need not be modified according to the Septuagint, for the prophet wished to emphasize by this expression, the idea that although there were very many nations in the world, even as many as the whole number of the people of Israel, JHVH, however, chose Israel to be His lot.

(11) It is of interest to note here that JHVH met the Hebrews *in the desert where the blast howls*, an idea which is quite different from that which the older prophets emphasized repeatedly, namely, that JHVH delivered Israel from the Egyptian slavery.

(12) Rashi says *JHVH used to surround them* (the people *i. e.* Israel) *with clouds*. Indeed a shelter of this kind is invaluable to nomadic tribes wandering in the desert. The sun during the day heats the sand of the wilderness so much that it becomes hotter than a burning furnace.

(13) From some descriptions given of the life of this bird TRISTRAM determines that the Heb. *nšr*=eagle is not the bird known to us by this name but the Griffon-vulture. Nevertheless, some Ornithologists report that four kinds of eagles have been observed in Palestine. 1. The Golden eagle (*Aquila Chrysaëtos*) ; 2. The Spotted eagle (*A. Noevia*) ; 3. The Imperial eagle (*A. Heliaca*) and the *Circactos gallicus* (DBS I, 628). We must admit that in many cases the word *eagle* was misused in the Bible, but this does not mean that we should substitute Griffon vulture in any passage that the word *eagle* occurs.

(14) When the eagle teaches her young ones to fly she throws them into the air and they are forced to open their wings in order to maintain their equilibrium. In the meantime, the eaglets spread their wings and make an effort to fly. Their mother always flies around them and watches over them so that when they get tired she carries them on her wings (*cf.* DBS I, 629). Rashi thinks that, when the eagle transports her young ones from one place to the other, she does not carry her nestlings with her claws as the other birds do, but she puts them on her wings in order to protect them against the arrows of the hunters (*cf.* Ex. 19, 4). As to the idea of being carried by the eagle, *cf.* A JEREMIAS, fig. 154 and 158, in OTLAE, pt. II, p. 150 where the first presents the Apotheosis of Titus in the vault of the triumphal arch, Rome, and the second : Gany-mede carried by the eagle. In order to better understand the life and the behaviour of eagles, it is worth while to consult DAVY's *Salmonis*, p. 87 ;

BOCHART, *Hierozaicon*, 2, p. 181 ; J. P. PETERS, JBL, **30**, 44-54 and **33**, 81-86. JOHN KITTO says : "There seems no sufficient evidence for the story which states, that the mother eagle takes the young upon her back, and scaring up, throws them off in the higher regions of the air ; where if she perceives, that they are unable to sustain themselves, she, with surprising dexterity, flies under them, and receives them on her wings to prevent their fall. That she does this literally we may doubt, but unquestionably she does, in their first exercises, support and assist the young birds so remarkably as to afford some ground to the exaggerations which we find in the works of the old naturalists and travellers" (*Pictorial Family Bible*, Vol. I, 523, London, 1854).

(15) According to the view of the Gâthâs, the world came into existence through the conflict between the powers of Good and Evil (ED. MEYER, GA, 1884 p. 537). The conflict between the powers will continue indefinitely. The Hebrews, who regarded themselves to be the *lot of JHVH*, suffered a great deal. JHVH sought to train a nation *in righteousness and truth* (cf. Dt. **8**, 2-3) in order to contend against Evil, but Satan, who is the source of all evil, constantly interfered with this work of JHVH and often led the "*Chosen Nation*" away from the right. The worship of the calf in the desert (cf. Ex. **32**, 1-6), as well as the rebellion against the Mosaic regulations (Num. **11**, 16) can probably be attributed to the misleading power of Satan. Our prophet indirectly protested against this view which ascribed a rival power to JHVH, even at the time when the nation was still in the making. Thus JHVH was alone ; no ally, nor companion was with Him when He led the Hebrews through the desert.

(16) This refers to the invasion of Palestine by the Hebrews and their success in dominating the country. Onqelos in translating this passage added : *He gave them the wealth of the rulers of cities and the possessions of people who live in fortified places*. When the invaders entered the country they found it cultivated, full of various crops of the fields, vineyards, olive trees, and orchards of different kinds. Thus the nomadic life of the Hebrews ceased ; they began to till the ground which yielded plenty of food (cf. Jud. **9**, 1-14). During their prosperity they did not appreciate the kindness of JHVH and thank Him for all his deeds, but instead, they *deserted the Rock who created them* and considered foreign deities to be the cause of their prosperity (cf. Hosea **2**, 10).

(17) The land of Bashan is situated to the north of Gilead and on the eastern side of the Jordan ; the modern Hauran may correspond to the

district which in ancient days was called Bashan by the Hebrews (*cf.* BAEDERKER'S *Palestina und Syria* 5th ed. p. 155 also HAUPT, AJSL 27, 41). As in the Biblical period (Am. 4, 1 ; Ps. 22, 13), so today this territory is still rich in pasture lands and therefore it is well known for the superiority of its breed of cattle. *Lit. Sons of Bashan, i. e.*, belonging to the race of cattle breed of Bashan. The pleasant climate and the extensive tracts of pastureland help to bring up not only healthy cattle, but also healthy men. The reference here is to beautiful and healthy animals.

(18) The kidneys of wheat are the grains of wheat. The shape of each grain of wheat resembles the form of a kidney.

(19) This metaphorical expression must refer to the vineyards and olive trees which are still planted in Palestine on the slopes of rocky mountains. Jonathan translates : *He made him suck from the honey of its fruit, (i. e. the trees) which grow upon the rocks, and oil from its olives (trees) that spring up from hard flint.* Rsbm explains *honey* as *syrup of dates*. During the World War, when the importation of foodstuffs into Palestine was practically put to an end, the inhabitants succeeded in providing a substitute for sugar by refining the jam of grapes which was prepared without sugar. The sweetness of this jam excelled the imported commodity. In addition to the grape-jelly, dried figs and raisins were used as substances for sweetening tea and coffee. Hence it is not necessary to assume that the poet referred to wild honey (so TRISTRAM, DRIVER, and others) found in clefts of rocks.

(20) *Lit.* thick milk ; curdled milk is a very refreshing drink used by the Bedouins in Palestine. It is known as *laban*. This drink is more tasteful when it becomes a little sour. It is especially prepared during the summer in order to quench the thirst caused by the heat of the sun. The *laban* is poured into skin bottles, and kept cool in a shady breezy place, just as in an ordinary ice-box. This is one of the most refreshing drinks in a warm country ; it is preferred by the Bedouins to soda water and ice-cream.

(21) According to the statistical and chemical analysis, the milk of sheep or goats contains about 4.45-6.11% fat molecules, and 4.68-5.73 % of sugar ; the percentage of these nutriments is lower in the milk of the cow, being 3.50 % fat and 4.00 % sugar (EB¹¹ Vol. XXVIII, p. 452^b). Probably this is one of the reasons why Bedouins prefer drinking sheep's or goat's milk rather than that of cows.

(22) A great many respectable Jews in Palestine and Syria prefer grape-juice for sacramental purposes rather than wine. The grape-juice

like all the other fruit juices belong to the group of sugars known chemically as fructose. This, upon fermentation decomposes and forms ethyl-alcohol and carbon di-oxide. The expression *fermented drink* refers to the alcoholic properties in the wine.

(23) In my studies of this poem, I, independently, arrived at a conclusion similar to that of STEUERNAGEL, namely, that verses 5 and 6, in the present text, are not in their proper place. The sequence in the poet's thought is disturbed by those verses, because after telling us that JHVH is upright and truthful, we expect the poet to give us some illustrations concerning His righteousness. The scribe, however, writing from memory, inserted these verses after the first stanza in order to show immediately the contrast between the deeds of JHVH and the apostasy of the *Chosen Nation*.

(24) The Chosen People have deserted JHVH ; they perverted His truthful laws, and they acted offensively against Him. These defects are not temporary, but are inborn in His sons ; therefore, it is very difficult to correct them.

(25) The poet refers to the new worship of Zoroaster which became very popular among the Israelites all over Mesopotamia during the last decade of the seventh century B.C., after the fall of the Assyrian empire. Although the dualistic belief is older than Zoroastrianism, nevertheless this cult was not firmly established till the appearance of Zoroaster.

(26) This expression hints at dualism which was regarded as a new belief, while monotheism was considered as having existed *from olden times*. It is true, therefore, that the ancestors of the Israelites could not conceive of a belief of such a nature. The exiles in Assyria knew all about the various types of worship practised by different nations, but they never conceived of a pure belief like the dualistic worship of Zoroastrianism. Monotheism could stand the rivalry of all the idols of the Assyrians and Babylonians, but found it very hard to resist dualism.

(27) The face of JHVH is considered as guidance for His worshippers (*cf.* Ex. 33, 15 ; Ps. 89, 16). JHVH is the light of His people ; He also acts as a leader during wars (*cf.* *JHVH of hosts*) ; should He turn aside His face from them, they would certainly perish (*cf.* MF p. 122, n. 17).

(28) JHVH wants to show His people that their mishaps were the results of deserting Him.

(29) A generation which has no constant belief, for they change it with every political movement. Frequent and rapid changes took place

at the time of the Judges. But even when the nation stood on a higher plane of civilisation, the people worshipped JHVH from the bottom of their hearts as during the time of Hezekiah and Josiah, and then relapsed into idolatry in the days of Manasseh and Jehoiakim. The prophet does not wish to allude to any special generation, as some scholars would like to understand by this expression, but he wants to designate the inconsistency of the *Chosen Nation* in their national religion.

(30) The Hebrews were considered as sons of JHVH (*cf.* v. 5, and 19) ; therefore, they ought to remain loyal to Him, for He is their father, but the sons did not pay much attention to their Creator, and broke their contract. Loyalty to JHVH means faithfulness.

(31) It does not refer to any special deity.

(32) Rashi, Rmbn, and many modern commentators understand by the expression *non-nation* to refer to the Chaldeans, but these people were really a nation when they first came in contact with the Judeans. By *non-nation* the prophet wanted to allude to the Scythians who invaded Palestine at the time of Josiah. Jeremiah, for instance, describes their invasion, and calls them, *the destroyers of nations* (*cf.* Jer. 4, 3-17 ; 29-31 ; 5, 16-17 ; 6, 22-26 ; also JE and EB article on the Scythians, and BERTHOLET'S interpretation of this poem ; also JBL 38, 145).

(33) Rashi and his followers think that the *impious people* are the Edomites, but it is well understood that the faithless people are the Chaldeans who dared to set on fire the temple of JHVH, saying, *there is no God*.

(34) This stanza gives us a vivid picture of the wrath of JHVH. This consists of hellish fire, arrows (famine, pestilence and wild beasts), sword (enemies) and terror. JHVH, in His wrath, resolved to punish His children for their deeds, and to annihilate their name from among men. The fire plays a very important rôle in JHVH's wrath. This is different from our fire ; its degree of heat is very much higher than ours ; it burns even the nethermost of Sheol, and sets on fire the foundations of mountains. The fire referred to here and in other passages where the wrath of JHVH is described, denotes the fire produced by volcanic eruption. The burning fire is the lava in which all the substances are found in a molten state. The degree of heat of the lava, which is tremendously high (above 1.000° C), can be obtained in our days only by means of an *electric arc*. The lava which is poured out of the crater of a volcano (the nose or mouth of JHVH), and which is considered to come from the innermost part of our globe, is the fire mentioned here. The mountains are demolished by the wrath of

JHVH (cf. Jud. 5, 5-6 ; Micah 1, 3-4 ; Nah. 1, 5-6 ; Ps. 18, 9-10, etc.). Thus the expression *burns to the nethermost* of Sheol (innermost part of our globe) and *set on fire the foundations of mountains* are very well understood. After a volcanic eruption, the portions of the crust of the earth in surrounding regions are usually so unsettled that they often cause sudden earthquakes. This phenomenon is looked upon as indicating that the foundations of the mountains are yielding. The fire of JHVH i. e., the lava does not remain in one place but overflows and consumes, not only the surface of the ground but also its products, so that the land cannot be cultivated for a long time (cf. PAPS 48, 361 and JBL 26, 9 l 3).

(35) Similar expressions about fainting from hunger are found also in English literature (MURRAY'S Dic. Vol. IV, pp. 24-25; cf. Crit. notes, v. 24).

(36) The conception of fire and flames in the OT is very vague. The use of one term for the other is very extensive throughout. In order to have a clear idea about *reshef*, the Hebrew word for lava, (probably it is a transposition of *šaraf*, to burn), I will insert here a short passage concerning the lava poured out of the crater of a volcano. "The electrical phenomena attending an eruption are often of great intensity and splendor. The dark ash-laden clouds of vapor are shot through and through by volcanic lightnings in rapid horizontal flashes, then oblique, forked streaks, or again in tortuous lines compared to fiery serpents, while the borders of the clouds may be brilliant with electric scintillations often forming balls and stars of fire. The heat produced by lava is estimated to be 1100°C" (EB 11, 28, 178).

Thus we are able to appreciate more fully the description of the volcanic eruption in the OT, which usually is associated with thunder, earthquake, smoke, fiery aspects at night and overflow of lava. If Moses had not warned his people against the worship of other deities than JHVH, whose voice they had heard through the burning mountain, they would have admired and even worshipped the splendor exhibited by the fire on the mountain (cf. Ex. 24, 9-11). All electrical phenomena in connection with the outpouring of lava form the fire, while *reshef* is the actual lava, the heat of which reaches 1100° C. Since it is very hard to distinguish between the electrical flashes and the glowing substance of lava, *reshef* may mean both, just as fire means flames and burning coals. Thus, it is very easy to realize the association between the Phoenicians' Fire God "*Reshef*" and the Hebrew *reshef*, "*the glowing substances of lava*". The

poetical expression burning by lava refers to the intense heat which is developed by fever and consumes the body of the sick one.

(37) JHVH speaks : Just as they have deserted me and tried to annihilate my name by worshipping foreign gods, so will I repay them and efface their name from men.

(38) The fact that the JHVH's children were delivered into the hands of their enemies, does not mean that JHVH was unable to rescue them, nor that their enemies were any better, but that JHVH chastened His rebellious *sons and daughters* in order to correct their ways. The enemy which the prophet refers to in this passage is the Chaldean nation. This people denied the ability of JHVH and ascribed the victory to their own might and to Marduk, their great god.

(39) Ibn Ezra thinks that the prophet by the phrase *caused all this* alludes to the exile of the Ten Tribes. I think, however, that the reference here is to the complete destruction of Judea in 587 B.C.

(40) Verse 31 is a tertiary gloss appended to verse 30 as a protest against the idea that JHVH had sold His people to their enemies. This gloss may have been added after the conquest of Babylonia by Cyrus in 538 B.C. at the time when the Babylonian army was defeated.

(41) It is characteristic of JHVH to repent after punishing His children severely, just as a human father would do (*cf.* Jer. 31, 19 ; Ez. 34, 6-7 ; Is. 40, 1-12). JHVH cannot stand the arrogance of the enemy *who is devoid of counsel and comprehension*. If they should study the present circumstances of the *Chosen People* they would learn that at that time one of them (the enemy) could chase a thousand Israelites, and two of them could drive away a myriad, only because JHVH had forsaken His nation temporarily. Were they wise enough, however, they would foresee what is in store for them eventually.

(42) *Their wine* means the wine which JHVH stored for them, to make them drink it on the day of their calamity. This wine is more cruel than the venom of asps. In certain passages of the OT wine is used symbolically to denote punishment (*cf.* Jer. 25, 15 ; Ps. 75, 9). The prophet declares that the day of the fall of the enemy is very near. This hint helps us to determine approximately the date of our poem at about 545-540 B.C.

(43) The reference is not to the moral corruption of the heathens and its fruits (DRIVER), but to the wine mentioned in the last verse (*cf.* IEZRA, EHRLICH, etc.).

(44) *At the time when their foot will slip*, must be understood in a political sense. It marks the time when the Babylonian kingdom became weak, before its final destruction in 538 B.C.

(45) The fumes of the fat and the steam of the wine were considered as food and drink of the gods. HAUPT in his note on *Wine and Blood* said as follows : The food of the gods was fragrant steam arising from the sacrifice and their drink consisted of the fumes of libation (*cf.* AJP 45, 48).

(46) The derision of the unbelievers, *i. e.*, the Babylonians, was very offensive. Belshazzar, the son of Nabonidus, prosecuted the servants of JHVH mercilessly on account of their religion. After torturing the martyrs to death, the enemies mocked at them and said ironically, "Where is their God, the Rock in whom they sought refuge?" The faithful worshippers maintained that JHVH was the creator of the whole world ; moreover, they emphasized the idea that there is no other God besides Him ; "Where is He ? Let Him arise and help them, let Him be a shield over them".

(47) JHVH can not endure the bloodshed of His servants any more and must interfere. He will manifest His existence by punishing the impudent enemies.

(48) A great deal of religious importance was attached to this verse. This is the first and the basic source for the theory of the *World to Come* and the *Resurrection after death* in the Pentateuch and in the Bible as a whole. Rabbi Hai, who was not able to show distinctly that the reference here hints at the World to Come because there is no mention of any world in this passage, said, *It was not necessary to speak specifically of the World to Come, since it could obviously be nothing else, and according to my mind, the Torah was not given to every person separately ; besides, only one out of a thousand could understand the idea of the World to Come. Moreover, it is very deep, and the reward of the World to Come depends upon the soul, etc.* IEzra interprets this passage as follows : *Verily I am the One who killed Israel, but also I am the One who revives him.* During the Babylonian Exile Israel was considered nationally dead, but the prophet, who was an ardent nationalist, expressed this idea in order to encourage and comfort his coreligionists, and in the meantime, aimed to protest against the dualistic belief which was fatal for Judaism. This idea brings out the contrast between Ahuramazda, who only revives and heals, and JHVH who does both, smites and heals, kills and revives (*cf.* Is. 41, 4 ; 43, 10-13 ; 45, 5-7 ; 46, 3-5).

(49) This is the last stanza of the speech of JHVH. The description is a detailed personification of JHVH. He is depicted as a revengeful warrior, who makes His arrows drunk with the blood of the enemies and His sword devours the head of their leaders (*cf.* Is. 34, 5-9 ; 49, 26; 63, 3-6 ; 66, 16 ; Jer. 12, 12 ; 25, 30-33 ; 50, 25-29).

(50) JHVH raises up His hand to the heavens not to take an oaths but to strike the enemy heavily. At present the foes ridicule the belief of the faithful servants, but when they feel the mighty hand of JHVH, they will acknowledge the fact that He is living forever.

(51) Lit. *people having long hair*. The generals and captains let their hair grow long so that they might be distinguished from the common soldier.

(52) The XIIth stanza forms a conclusion to the poem. Verse 36 must be transposed to the beginning of this strophe. The words of the prophet are full of comfort to the servants of JHVH who were crushed down by the tyrant rulers. The prophet assures his coreligionists of JHVH's redemption, which is very near.

(53) The idea that JHVH succors the poor and oppressed was developed extensively by the prophets.

(54) The servants of JHVH are the orthodox, *i. e.* the nationalists, in Mesopotamia as a whole. Undoubtedly the prophet was also one of these servants.

(55) Verse 36b was probably referring to helplessness. The prophet makes use of this expression without modifying it, in order to impress his hearers.

Part III.

1. CRITICAL NOTES

It is necessary to distinguish between the terms שיר and שירה. The term שיר, which we find mostly in the Psalms, includes all poems composed to be either sung by the choir or played on a musical instrument ; while the term שירה would only mean a composition written in a metrical form. The latter therefore, may be rendered in English by *poem* and the former by *song*. The compositions שירת הים, שירת משה, שירת דבורה, etc. may illustrate the term שירה, and שיר מזמור or שיר המעלות exemplify שיר. Thus, שירת משה does not mean *Song of Moses* but a *Poem of Moses*.

I

Introduction. Consists of vv. 1, 2, 3 and 4. Verse 3 is placed before v. 1 and v. 2b is treated as a gloss to v. 2a. Verses 5 and 6 are transposed to the fifth pentastich.

V. 3 The third verse should be transposed to the beginning of this pentastich, for we expect the prophet to mention the name of JHVH first and address the audience afterwards. It is still customary in the East to mention the name of God before any undertaking. The phrase, בשם ה' נעשה ונצליה and in Arabic بِاسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ or بِاسْمِ يَسُوعَ الْمَسِيحِ are very common. The G reads ὅτι ἐκάλεσα V, *quia invocabo* ; BITRINGA, *proclamabo* ; LUTHER, in some editions, has *preisen* for *anrufen*. O ארי בשמא ד' אנא מצלי ; Rashi, הרי כי משמש בלשון כאשר. The SmH, קרא בשם is probably more correct than the MT. The expression שם קרא is very rare, and, while קרא בשם is more frequent, the latter means *to praise, proclaim, worship, profess the name of a deity* (cf. SCHULTZ, p. 562 ; cf. Explanatory notes No 1). The change of ב to כ is due to scribal miswriting ; in certain MSS these letters can hardly be distinguished (cf. GINSBURG, *Introduction to the Hebrew Bible*, p. 516, 551, etc.).

In order to avoid collision of beats in הבו גדל we may adopt the SmH reading גדל והבו, which enables us to shift the accent to the preceding syllable.

The root of the word **הבו** is **והב**; cf. Arab. **وہب**, Eth. **መሀበ**, Eg. *h³b* and S. Arab. **והב**. This verb occurs in Hebrew only in the imper. mood (cf. GK 49°).

The shifting of the word **הצור** from v. 4 to this one, as in **S וַחֲכָמֵי לִלְכָּם לְמַעַן** is not necessary, besides it destroys the meter in the following verse. According to IE, **הבו** refers to *heavens* and *earth* and not to the audience that the prophet is addressing. The poet, I believe, had in mind the heavens and earth in a figurative sense, viz., the people.

V. 1 For **וואדברה**, **G καὶ λαλήσω**; **V quae loquor**; **O ואמליל**; **Sd. وادبره**; **WINZER (1816) nam loquor**; **EWALD and KAMPHAUSEN, dass ich rede**; **GESENIUS, denn will ich reden**. The rendering of **DONALDSON (1854), dum loquor** and **BUDDE, derweil ich rede** are more correct. The **ו** in **וואדברה** may be accounted for as the Arab. **واو الحال**, meaning *while, during the time that* (cf. **BROCK. VGr. 2, § 319 f**, and **GK §§ 141^e; 142^d; 156**).

The use of the 3rd person **ותשמע** instead of the Imperat. as in **האזינו** weakens somewhat the vigor of the expression. **Sd.** translates both in the third person, **يَنْصَتُ وَيَسْمَعُ**. The use of the definite article with **ארץ**, **שמים** brings out the force of the vocative case, and may correspond to the Arab. vocative particle **أَيُّهَا** or **يَا**.

V. 2 It is not necessary to adopt the reading **ירעה** instead of **יערה** as **DE LAGARDE (GGA 35, 136)** had suggested, for transposition of letters in the same word is a common phenomenon in Hebrew *e. g.* **שלמה-שמלה**, **כבש-כשב**, and **הרם-ברה** (cf. **GK § 30ⁿ**). **G περσσεσθαι**; **V conrescat**; **O יקסם**; **Y יקפם**; it seems that they had a text reading **יערב**, which **SCHULTEN** connected with the Arab. **عرف**, instead of **יערה**. This reading however, is unwarranted, because according to the law of parallelism, a word is required corresponding in meaning with the word **תול** in the second hemistich. **Graecus Ven. σδαζάτω**; **S لَتَسْمَكْ**; **Sd. ويدر**; **Rashi, יציף**; **IE, ירד** are more correct.

For **לקח** **G** has **τὸ ἀποφθεγμὰ μου**; **OYJ אולפני**; **S مَلُوف**; **V doctrina mea**; **Sd., بَشَى**; **IE לקח כמעט למוד**. **FÜRST's** suggestion to transpose **לקח** to **חלק**, in order to derive a meaning to *learn* is unwarranted. The word **לקח** is used frequently in Proverbs in the sense of *acquiring* or *receiving knowledge*; cf. **קבלה** in sense of learning (**KAMP. KAUT.,** and others, *Lehre*; **BUDDE, Kunde**). In this case, the word **לקח** is well ren-

dered in English, by Prof. HAUPT, as *revelation*. For לקח in the sense of divine revelation *cf.* with the Ass. *liqû* ¹¹*Anûti* (CDAL, Vol. I, p. 495, h). *Cf.* Ass. *axâzu* (= اخذ) = to learn.

V 2 b Destroys the beauty and the force of the expression in v_a, since it is understood that the rain and dew fall upon the plant to revive them ; besides it does not add anything new of importance to the preceding verse, therefore this stich, which is, according to Prof. HAUPT a gloss to v. a, may be omitted.

The word שַׁעֲרִים is one of the ἀπ. λεγ. in the OT ; its etymology is very obscure. It is written defective on account of the preceding י in the same word. G ὄμβρος ; V *imber* ; Y כְּרוּחַ ; OJ כְּרוּחַ מִטְרָא ; Rashi רוח מערה ; KAMP, *Gewitterschauer* ; KEIL, KNOB., SCHULTZ, KAUT., etc. *Regenschauer* ; BUDDE, *Schauer*. This etymology may suit the theologians who take the storm wind to be a punishment for the wicked one in contrast with gentle drippings which are intended for the righteous people. It seems incredible to the modern critics (*cf.* KEIL, KNOB., SCHULTZ, etc.) who derive this word from שַׁעֲרָה *storm* ; moreover the context requires some *gentle rain* which refreshes the vegetation, and not a *stormy rain* which generally is destructive ; therefore, the interpretation of this word by Sd. طش¹¹ ; IE, נִשְׁמִים דְּקִים ; J. H. MICHAELIS (1720) *stillae* ; ROSENMÜLLER, *imbres tenuis* as derived from שַׁעֲרִי or שַׁעֲרִי, *pilus*, denoting the thinness of the rain, and DRIVER, *small rain* is preferable. For the etymology of שַׁעֲרִי *cf.* JHUC 316, 23. When anyone in the post-biblical period wished to state that something was very fine, he compared it with hair. The expression דֶּק כְּחוּט הַשַּׁעֲרָה *thin like a thread of hair* was very common (*cf.* BEN JEHU-DAH'S *Lexicon* on חוט).

Although the word רִבִּיבִים occurs several times in the OT, yet its etymology is not clear. G ῥεγός is untenable. KAMP., KNOB., KAUT., etc. *Regengüsse* ; BUDDE, *Güsse* ; DRIVER, *showers*, and Rashi's derivation from רבב, *to shoot* (*cf.* Gn. 21, 20) do not suit the text. V *stillae* ; O מִקְוֶשָׁה Y כְּרִסִּי מִקְוֶשָׁה ; J וּכְרִסִּין לְקוּשִׁין ; S نَسَمَل ; Sd. رِذَاز ; ROSEN-MÜLLER, *multae guttulae* (*cf.* Arab. رِب) are better interpretations. This word is probably derived from רבב *large, thick* *cf.* Arab. رِب, *thick juice*. In several Hamitic languages *robi* is a rather common word for rain.

The word דִּשָּׁא (prob. Ass. *dîšu* (*dîššu* < *dîš'u*) *luxurious growth* or *dašû*, *be luxurious, bloom*) may refer to any young plant, or any seed springing from the ground ; *cf.* Syr. ܕܝܬܐ, *to spring, germinate and tender grass* ;

cf. also Arab. **دَي** *to be wet, moist, fresh* (plant), while the term **עשב** is more or less limited to herbs either green or dry, cf. Arab. **عشب** *to become dry, wither*.

V. 4 The word **צור**, *Rock*, has a special signification in the mind of our poet, for he makes use of it (cf. vv. 15, 18, 30, 31, and 37) repeatedly, (cf. also Exp. Notes 5). The **G** translates **הצור** as **θεός**, and **OYJ** **הקיפא** throughout, while **Sd.** translates it in vv. 4 and 18 as **خالق**, and vv. 15, 30, 31, and 37 as **ممتد**. It might be of interest to note here that the Assyrians gave titles of this kind to their gods (cf. Heb. **צֹר**, rock, and Ass. **šadû**, mountain), e. g. ¹¹ *Ašur šadû rabû*--Asur, the great and mighty one, or ¹² *Bêl šadû rabû*, Bel, the great and mighty one, (cf. CDAL p. 1013; KAT³ 357-8 ; KB 4,178).

The word **פעל** does not refer here to any kind of deed (ct. Klost. p. 272), but to the unbelievable decree, *i. e.* the exile of the people and the destruction of the country, that JHVH had decreed against His own children, cf. v. 27b, also Ps. 109, 20 and Jes. 49, 4 where it has the sense of decree. Similar ideas may be found in Jer. 25, 14 (cf. also IE ad loc.) **להודיע** **כי-כל מה שאירע לישראל בעבור מעשיהם היה** *That was to make known that all that happened to Israel, was on account of their deeds.*

Read **בכל** instead **בִּי-כל**, the **בִּי** being most likely a corruption of **ב** (cf. Crit. Notes on v. 3), *in all His ways, i. e., in all His manners of judging the people*. For **משפט** **G** has **δικασμός**; **V** *judicia*; ROSENMÜLLER, *justitia*; **O** **דינא**; **Y** **דינן דקשט**; **Sd.** **بالاحكام الطابق**. According to Professor HAUPT **משפט** means the proper way to do a thing. I believe, however, that the word **משפט** here, as in many other passages, means *justice* and not *judgment*.

For **ואין עול** read **אל עול**; for similar expressions concerning God cf. Zep 3, 5; Ps. 92, 16, etc. The reading in the MT is not sufficiently clear, for, if the text was correct we should expect to have an attribute **על**, **בּוֹדֵט עַל**, which was supplied in the margin of some **G** texts. **OJ** **דמן קדמוהי עולה לא נפיק**; **Y** **ולית קדמוי שקר**; **Sd.** **لا جور عنده**; IE, who was somewhat troubled about this expression, said: *והטעם אחר שהוא אל-אמונה לא יתכן שיעשה עול ויתכן להיות ואין עול בדרכיו או מלת אל מושבת עצמה ואחרת עמה*, *and the reason is this, since He is a God of righteousness, it is impossible to assume that He would commit any injustice; it is also possible that there is no perversion in His ways (manners), or the word God draws itself and another one with it; i. e., the word אל has the power to refer also to עול*. I believe that the genuine text read as

follows : **אל אמונה ולא אל עול** He is a faithful God, *i. e.*, He keeps His promises, and requites His people according to their deeds (*cf.* Dt. 6, 10-15 ; 11, 13-17 ; 28, 1-68). Whenever Israel keeps their sacred contract with JHVH, *i. e.*, to worship only Him (*cf.* Dt. 26, 17-19), He, on the other hand, bestows upon them in return His blessings and His protection ; but when Israel breaks its contract and forsakes JHVH, naturally, He punishes them accordingly. He withdraws His protection from them, and withholds His gifts from them (*cf.* Hos. 2, 10-11). During the Exile, the majority of the people considered JHVH to be unjust in delivering His children into the hands of the heathens and banishing them from their country. But indeed, says our poet, JHVH was right, and could not be called **אל-עול**. The corruption of this part of the text may have happened in the following manner : The word **לא** from v. 4b crept into the following v. 5a, thus making both verses unintelligible. When the word **לא** was missing from v. 4b and **אל עול** remained, it occurred to the scribe that such reading was improper for God, therefore, he substituted the word **ואין** for **ואל**. KAUT. and BUDDE by interchanging **עול** with **מום** of the next verse do not improve the text. Professor HAUPT prefers to read **ואין עול בו**, or **ואין עולה** **בו**. According to him **בו** was omitted due to haplography of **כי** at the beginning of the second hemistich of the preceding line.

Probably the reading **יהוה** **Κύριος** for **הוא** is more correct.

II

The birth of all nations and the selection of Jacob to be the peculiar nation of JHVH. Verses 7, 8, and 9. There is an interchange of place between v. 8a and v. 8b.

V. 7 The SmH, **G**, **J**, **Y** have the plural form instead of **זכר**. This change need not be adopted since in the next stich all the Versions read the sing. throughout ; therefore, it is better to emend the plural **בינו** into sing. **ובין**, which is more forcible.

It is important to note here that the words **שנות** and **ימות** are Assyrian forms for the Hebrew **שני** and **ימי** (*cf.* Ass. šattu, pl. šanāti ; Ass. ūmāti instead of ūmê is rare ; but in Syriac **ܫܢܬܐ** is more frequent than **ܫܢܐ**). This shows that the writer was influenced by the Assyrian tongue, which was the dominating language during the Exile (*cf.* Heb. **ימי עולם** in Is. 63, 9 ; Am. 9, 11 ; Mic. 5, 1 ; and Mal. 3, 4).

The expression **דיר ודיר** stands in parallel position with the word **עולם**. This shows that **דיר** in this expression was not used in the sense of

generation, but as a term for endless period of time, and must be connected with Arabic *دهر* rather than *دور*. The steps which took place in transforming the old Hebrew *דָּהַר* into *דָּר* may be explained as follows: Heb. *dāhr* > *dār* after the quiescing of the *h* and the tendency to change a long *ā* into *ō* or *o* influenced *dār* to become *dôr*. The reduplication of *דָּר* may correspond to the Arabic *دهار*, *olden times*, which is interpreted in the *محيط* as *الازمنة القديمة*, which I believe it is a contraction of *دهر*. The Heb. expression *דָּר דָּר וְדָר* may be rendered as *past times* or *past ages*, while *לְדָר וְדָר* — *forever* (cf. *עולם*, *olden times* and *לְעולם*, *forever*).

The *א* in *שאל* was not pronounced (cf. 1 S. 1, 17 *שְׁאַלְתָּהּ* for *שָׁאַלְתָּהּ*), therefore *שאל* is proclitic; (Professor HAUPT's view).

BUDDE and HAUPT believe that the genuine text read *אֲבִיךָ וְיִנְיָךָ* instead of *אֲבִיךָ וְיִנְיָךָ*, assuming that *אֲבִיךָ* in v. 7a α is haplography of *אֲבִיךָ* in v. 6b α. I do not find any necessity to alter the RT, since the poet requests from every one to inform himself about the history of the nations from his father and his elders (J calls them *חֲכִימִים*, cf. Arab. *شيخ* *an old man*, also a *teacher, learned man, professor*). The suggestion to insert in v. b α *הוא* and in v. b β *הם*, in order to improve the meter was adapted.

V. 8 After I had studied this passage carefully I came to the conclusion that the sequence of the stichs was somewhat disturbed, for, according to the law of parallelism v.b α should follow v.a α and v.a β preceding v. b β.

The reading *בִּהְנִחֵל* found in SmH and some MSS is preferable to *בִּהְנַחֵל* of the MT, which from a syntactical point of view is not correct (cf. GK § 115^g, and E § 237^b).

JHVH is called 'Elion, High-One, because He dwells in the heavens (cf. 1 K 8, 30, 43, 49; Is. 66, 1; Ps. 2, 4; 11, 4; 103, 19; 115, 16; 123, 1; 2 Ch. 30, 27).

The verb *הַצִּיב* here does not mean *to establish* but *to allot* cf. Arab. *انصب*, *to assign a part*, *انصب*, or *انصيب*, *a lot, portion*.

The form *יַצַּב* is peculiar; IE thinks that it has a past meaning, just as *יַעֲשׂוּ עֵגֶל בְּחֹרֵב* means *they made*, (and not, they will make) *a calf in Horeb*, but we must assume, with HAUPT, that the form was originally *יַצַּב* and *יַעֲשׂוּ*, the initial *ו* was omitted on account of haplography due to the following *י*. The vocalization of *יַצַּב* instead of *יַצֵּב* was harmonized with the form *בִּהְנַחֵל*.

The word גבול means both *boundary* and *country* ; cf. Ass. *miṣru*, boundary and lot, country (DEL. AHW, p. 422). For similar meaning in the OT cf. Num. 32, 23 ; Is. 28, 25. The word גבלת in this passage does not mean *boundaries* (BUDDE and his followers) but with KLOST. (p. 283) and EHRLICH (p. 341), *portion of land, country*.

The G renders בני אדם, a common Hebrew expression for people, as υἱοὺς Ἀδάμ. KLOST., following the G, considers the words אדם and ישראל to be proper names, and translates *Adamsöhne* and *Israel-Söhne*, but the sons of Israel are also the sons of Adam, therefore, the prophet would hardly intend to make such a distinction. KLOSTERMANN tries also to show that Palestine was settled, before the invasion of the Israelites, by twelve nations, all of whom were sons of Canaan. He based this theory on the passage in Gn. 10, 15-18 ; but there are only eleven and, in order to make them twelve, he adds to them the Philistines ; moreover, we do not know of any period in Jewish history in which the Israelites dominated Sidon.

The expression למספר is a parallel form to כמספר G κατὰ ἀριθμόν according to the number of, cf. 1 K 18, 31.

The G reads ἀγγέλων θεοῦ instead of בני ישראל. This difficulty is easily solved if we bear in mind that the Sons of Israel were also called, in several passages of the OT, the Sons of JHWH (cf. Dt. 14, 1 ; 32, 19, 20). Some scholars adopt the G reading and believe that the genuine text had אל בני or בני אלים. They consider this term to mean *demi-gods* (so Professor HAUPT interprets Ps. 29, 1 ; 89, 7) or *guardian angels* as in Dan. 12, 1 (cf. KÖNIG, GATR, p. 485 ; and BUDDE, LM, p. 17). Most of the passages, in which בני אלים or בני אלהים occur, were composed in a very late period. Von GALL examined a great many MSS of SmH texts and found that all had in v. 8bβ ישראל and not אל as LÖHR and HAURI assume.

V. 9 Instead of the word כי in the RT we find in the G καὶ ἐγενήθη which BUDDE renders in Heb. as ויהי חלק, while BERTHOLET and his followers read וחלק. I prefer the first reading. The SmH has כי-חלק ישראל יהוה עמו יעקב חבל נחלתו ישראל, and the G καὶ ἐγενήθη μερὶς Κυρίου λαὸς αὐτοῦ Ἰακώβ, σχόλισμα κληρονομίας αὐτοῦ Ἰσραήλ. Both of these texts show that the word יעקב was originally in the first hemistich and the word ישראל in the second. The last one was omitted from the MT, probably, on account of its existence at the end of the preceding stich. The word עמו in the first hemistich is a gloss to יעקב otherwise the hemis-

tich becomes very heavy. I believe that the genuine text was as follows : ויהי־חֶלֶק יְהוָה יַעֲקֹב חֵבֶל נַחֲלֹתוֹ יִשְׂרָאֵל, and I translate : *Then the portion of JHVH was Jacob, Israel the lot of His inheritance.* JHVH had chosen Jacob from all the other nations to become His own lot.

The word חֵבֶל, *portion* originally meant a lot measured by means of a measuring rope, (חֵבֶל *rope*).

III

The nomadic life of Israel in the desert. JHVH meets them, cares for them, and leads them to civilization. Verses 10, 11, and 12.

V. 10. The SmH reads יִמְצָאוֹ instead of יִמְצָאוּ, but there is no necessity to assume such a corruption in the MT. The G αὐτὰρ ἔσεν αὐτόν expresses the same idea given by O ספק צורכיהון, Sd. کمال and Rsbm הקב"ה היה הספוק שלהם. Y ארע יתהון מעיין, J ארע יתהון שריין and the V *Invenit eum*, on the other hand follow the RT. The difference between the former commentators and the latter ones consists in the vocalization of the same word. The G and its followers read the *Hip.* form, יִמְצָאוֹ (so DATHE) while the others preserved the massoretic reading יִמְצָאוּ. All the commentators interpret this word in the perfect, but יִמְצָאוֹ means *he will find him* and not *he found him*. I, therefore, believe that a ו conversive stood before this word, and it was omitted by haplogy. Professor HAUPT suggests to render יִמְצָאוֹ in English, not *found him*, but *met him*, following the meaning of this word in Eth. መለህ *to meet, to come*. Several passages in the OT may also be interpreted in this way; cf. Gn. 4, 14 ; cf. 1 K 13, 24 : וימצאו אריה ; also Ps. 132, 6 (JBL 33, 168), also GB¹⁷ 450^b, 2.

The SmH has המדבר, with article ; therefore, some scholars believe that this passage may refer to the Sinaitic desert, but there is no ground for this interpretation.

According to some commentators, the second hemistich of this verse was hopelessly corrupted. The SmH ובתהללות ישמנהו, SmT ובתשבחתה ובתהללות ישמנהו, and G ἐν δίδει αὐτὸν ἀγαπᾶς, ἐν ᾧ ἄνθρωπος differ greatly from the MT. The passage in the SmH is a corruption of the MT. The genuine Hebrew text probably read «ה»ישמן «ליל» ; this became ובתהללות ובתהללות ישמן by mixing up the first two words together with the article of the third word which was converted to ת. At the end of the following stich the word עיניו probably was in the SmH עיניהו in accordance with the

termination הו of the three preceding words. The final particle הו was affixed to ישמנו, thus the word became ישמנהו and the final י in עניי was lengthened to ו, so as to harmonize it with the MT. O בבית צחונא אתר follows the G while J reads דמילין שדים וירורין entirely different. According to J. H. MICHAELIS and others (cf. ROSENMÜLLER, p. 623 and KAMP., p. 51), the Arab. تيه, used for wilderness in general, was originally a proper name of the desert extending between Egypt, Palestine, and the Red sea. It is called by the Arabs بني اسرائيل. ZUNZ in his Bible translates: *in dem Grausen des Geheuls der Wüste*. KLOST., neglecting the Heb. text, tried very hard to comply with the SmH. First he corrects ישמנהו into ישבנהו upon the basis of a certain SmH MSS and interprets it to mean *bring back*, but this reading is not Heb. and it was confounded with the SmT שבינה; moreover the interpretation is not suitable because the Israelites, to be sure, did not live formerly in Palestine, nor did they know JHVH. Therefore, they could not run away from Him, so that He could bring them back. The etymology of the word תהללות is entirely erroneous. תהללות could not be derived from a stem תהל (cf. the ἀπ. λεγ. תהל Job. 4, 18) *to err*; the form could not be compared with שערור or שערורה from שער which is also a doubtful etymology (cf. GB¹⁷, p. 855). I believe the word שערורה is a שפעל form of ערר a doublet of ערי *to be naked*. Nakedness and shame are psychologically connected; therefore the word שערורה meaning *a shame* may correspond to תועבה, *shame* (cf. Arab. عيب). The form שערור is a nominal derivative like שבלול, *a snail* from בלל (cf. Arab. بلل *to moisten*). LÖHR says: *Ist schwer zu konstruieren 'in der Öde des Geheuls der Steppe'*. Thus, the text, according to him, is unintelligible, and therefore he reads הולך instead of ילל with the acc. בתהו הולך ישמן here in the sense of *passing through*, as we find in Dt. 1, 19; 2, 7. He attributes בתהו to הלך, and understands by it *to err without any aim* ("Zielloses Herumirren") and compares it to Ps. 107, 4, 40; Job. 12, 24. JHVH found him in a desert erring through the waste. The second ל in ילל he takes as a dittography of the former one, and a י was miswritten for ה as in Is. 10, 10 האליל for האלה, BUDDÉ changes ילל to כליל as in כליל יפי which means *perfect*. ישמן would be understood as *silence*. In case of emergency it may be read ישימות as in Ps. 55, 16. As to the emendation of ילל, Professor HAUPT agrees with KAUTZSCH and thinks that the לל are merely a dittography of דר, thus instead of ילל he reads ידרו *His friend*, where the final ו was eliminated on account of the following word which begins with י. The word ישמן is also a cor-

ruption from the original שָׁמַן. The MT then is restored as follows :
וּבְתֵּהוּ יִדְרוּ שָׁמַן. All these emendations do not improve the text.

In Arabic تَلاَّ تَلاَّ means *to be lost*, probably a byform of the Heb. תָּעָה. It is both difficult and useless to build roads, not only in the desert but even in the sandy regions near the sea coast, because the wind moves dunes of sand from their places yearly, and scatters them everywhere. When plans were made for building the new Jewish settlement, Tel-Aviv, near Jaffa, the high-way engineers laid down streets and paved them, but after a year or two, one could hardly notice that there were any pavements or side-walks. The community, therefore had to hire men and keep on shoveling the sand from the streets after every storm, just as the snow is shoveled, after a heavy snow storm in some parts of this country. If some party travels in the desert without any guides they will be fortunate if they will find their way back. Therefore תָּהוּ means *a place in which there is no way out* (cf. Ps. 107, 40).

The word יָלַל is ἄπ. λεγ. and most likely is of the same stem as יָלַל, *wailing* (cf. Arab. وَلَّى and Syr. (ܡܠܝܬܐ).) The howling of the wind, especially in the desert, is considered to be the voice of demons, (cf. JAOS 40, 218¹; cf. JHUC 316, 23), and the desert the place where the demons reign, J אֶתֶר דְּמִילֵילִין שְׂרִים וַיְרוּרִין, *a place where demons and jackals howl*.

The difficulty, however, remains in the word יִשְׁמָן. This word is derived from a root שָׁם which in Arab. originally meant *to blow* (cf. my note in JHUC 354, 51) either in or out (cf. lat. *inspiro, respiro*, and *expiro*) the derivatives of which are נִשְׁמָה (cf. Heb. נִשְׁמָה, soul, which is regarded to be blown into the body by God, Gn. 2, 7; Arab. نَسَمَ) and שָׁמַם. In Semitic, many stems which have the meaning *to blow* are etymologically derived from the root שָׁם. By doubling the last consonant of the root we obtain שָׁמַם. By process of dissimilation of the final consonant and transposition we get נִשְׁמָה. This was conformed to שָׁמַם stems giving us יִשְׁמָן. A change of the original מ into ב took place in the stem נִשְׁמָה (cf. Arab. مَكَّ and مَكَّ; Heb. מָלַט, פָּלַט and Ass. *balātu*, to live) forming נִשְׁבָּה. Since the ב was pronounced in a 'rafated' manner it was interchanged with פ leaving נִשְׁפָּה and by transposition נִשְׁפָּה. Thus, שָׁמַם, נִשְׁמָה, נִשְׁבָּה, are ultimately connected (cf. WF 220; ZA 31, 243). The word יִשְׁמָן must be understood as a wind-storm (cf. Arab. سَوْمٌ *a violent wind* of the desert which destroys every inhabited region and

suffocates every living thing). The place where a wind-storm of this kind occurs frequently was called ישמן *a waste or a desert*, i. e., the dominion of ישמן.

Now, this hemistich, with slight emendation, can readily be understood. I believe the genuine text read ובתו ילל הישמן. The first י of ילל denoting the imperfect, and the article ה prefixed to ישמן (*cf.* Num. 21, 20 ; 23, 28 ; 1 S 23, 19 ; 26, 1, 3). Taking הישמן, *the blast*, as subject, and the verb ילל, the hemistich may be rendered as follows :

In a land of waste he met him,

In a desert where howls the blast.

Instead of יבוננהו read, with Professor HAUPT, יבוננהו. It is derived from an old Heb. verb בנן *cf.* Arab. كُن to cover ; Sabeian בנן to protect, guard ; Ass. kunnunu, to protect.

V. 11. The G translates יעיר קנו as ἀπαύσαι νοσσοῦν αὐτοῦ ; O הטעם שיוליכם יעיר ; IE כנשרא דמעיר על קניה ; Y כנשרא דמחיש לקנה ; Rsbm מעירו ומנענעו ; Rashi יעורר בנו ; V *aquila provocans* ; LUTHER, *Wie ein Adler ausführt seine Jungen* ; ROSENMÜLLER derives יעיר from the Arab. غار, and translates, *aquila ferve* ; HITZIG and EWALD render it ; *beschützen* ; GESENIUS interprets : *Wache halten* ; EHRlich's emendation יעוף קנו is impossible. BUDDE and KAUT. in accordance with Job. 8, 6, insert על and read יעיר על קנו, *der «ob» seinem Nest wacht*. HAURI emends יעיר, in *Sicherheit bringen, schirmen*, but this is not necessary. All these various interpretations do not suit our passage. The poet evidently describes the mother eagle teaching her young ones to fly. She always hovers about them and comes to their help whenever they become tired, she extends her wings so as to enable the eaglets to rest upon them. The second stich completes the idea expressed in the first one. Thus v. 11a may be rendered as follows :

*Like the eagle that succours his nestlings,
and hovers about his young ones.*

The text has קנו *his nest*, but nest means *nestlings* ; *cf.* Heb. אחל and בית and Arab. اهل having the sense *family*. The Heb. word יעיר must be connected with the Arab. غور which generally is construed with both *acc.* and *dat.* One can say either غاره or غار له, *he succoured him*. The passage in Job. 8, 6 must be understood in the same sense. In order to complete the regularity of the meter it is better to read עלי instead of על.

For יקח וישאו the **G** reads ἐδέξατο αὐτούς and καὶ ἀνέλαβεν αὐτούς; **O** מקבליהון ומנמליהון, וטען יתהון וכבל יתהון. **Sd.** فباخدمهم ويخاطبهم; therefore we are justified in emending the text to וישאם ויקחם. This, however, would not refer to JHVH, but to the eagle, and completes the image depicted in the first stich. One may observe that v. 12 begins with JHVH which would not be so, if the subject of v. 10 applied to v. 11. The singular in the Hebrew text is due to the influence of קנו. **HAURI** following **LÖHR** thinks that there are some difficulties in understanding this figurative speech, where JHVH is represented as an eagle and therefore he omits it. But we find several other passages in the OT which express this very idea (*cf.* Ex. 19, 4 Dt. 1, 31) and there is no good ground to eliminate it.

V. 12. For בדר **G** reads μόνος; **V solus OJ** בלחודיהון; **Y** בלחודיהון; **Sd.** فرادًا; **S** حليسه يسقط **IE** ואין עם ה' שותף **Rashi** לה' לבדר לבטח נהגם. **BUDDE** maintains that the translation of the **G** μόνος for בדר is not correct, for parallel passages show that this must be the predicate accusative μόνον, and would mean that JHVH led Him alone, secluded for himself. Professor **HAUPT** wants to read לבדו instead of בדר, assuming that the latter is an unusual form for לבדו. This emendation is not necessary, and one may consider לבדו as a prosaic expression for בדר.

Sd. thinks that verse 11 a + b refer to the eagle, and therefore he begins v. 12 with a comparative particle כדא.

Instead of the singular יקח the **G** reads ἔγενετο αὐτούς; **O** עתיד לאשריותהון (taking the imperfect in future sense); while **Y** following the **G** renders אשרי יתהון. **Sd.** سيره; **S** رحله and others follow the **RT**. The pl. in **G** is due to the pl. reading in the preceding verse.

As to what is referred to by the expression ואין עמו, *there is not with him*, is not clear, and therefore the opinion of the critics varies. The **G** μετ' αὐτῶν; **Y** ולית ביניהון; **J** ולא משרי ביניהון; **Sd.** معه; **IE** עם ישראל; **V** and **ROSENMÜLLER**, *cum eo*; **LUTHER**, *mit ihm*; **BUDDE** maintains that the reference is to the people of Israel, and not to JHVH. According to **Rmbn**, it may refer either to JHVH or to Israel. But **O** ולא יתקים קדמוי; **KAMP.** and **EWALD**, *von Gott*; **DILLMANN**, *auf Gott bezüglich*; **SCHULTZ** *geht auf Jehova, nicht auf Israel*; **DRIVER**, *without the co-operation of any other God*, on the other hand I believe that it alludes to JHVH and not to Israel. The latter view probably is more correct (*cf.* Exp. Notes, n° 15).

The expression אל נכר, *a strange god* is well rendered by the G θεός ἀλλότριος. Originally it meant an enemy or a rival divinity ; cf. Ass. *nakiru*, stranger, enemy (Del., AHW, p. 465). The term to designate a non-Hebrew was בן אל נכר and בת אל נכר (cf. Mal. 2, 11) and later was shortened into בן-נכר an *unbeliever*.

IV.

The conquest of Palestine ; JHVH's kindness. Prosperity leads to apostasy. Verses 13, 14a, 14b, 14c, 15a α and a restored hemistich from SmH. Verse 14b is placed before v. 13b. Verse 14a β is a gloss to 14a; v. 15a β , v. 15b and v. 16 are glosses to v. 15a α .

The present order of the verses in this stanza is not correct. V. 14b must follow v. 13a so as to be nearer to the governing verb and subject ויאכלהו; while v. 13b containing the principal verb and subject וינקחו should precede v. 14a and v. 14c.

V. 13. The word ירכבו is written defectively on account of the preceding י.

The construct plural of במות is במותי. The form במותי is generally considered to be a double plural (cf. GK § 87^s and EWALD § 211^d). It is possible, however, that the ending of במותי is a remnant of the old genitive case ending as in חלילי עינים Gen. 49, 12, and in רבתי-עם, Lam. 1, 1 (cf. GK § 90^e), and it should be pointed with *i* instead *ê*. The vocalization *ê* was probably confounded to סופרתינו (cf. GK § 91^m and AJP 8, 266ⁱ).

The reading of the G ἑψαμένους αὐτούς; the SmH ויאכלהו; YJ ויאכלהו and S **סאסכלה** is preferable to the MT, because it brings harmony between the first and second hemistich.

The SmH has תנופת instead of תנובת in the RT. It seems that תנובת is more original than תנופת and it is derived from a stem נוב, Arab. نَاب *to grow*. The rafated ن may be sounded as פ in the proximity of a nasal.

Instead of the singular שרי the G reads ἀγρόν; V *agrorum*, Sd. ریاض use the plural. They may have considered שרי as an abbreviated plural of שרים (for mas. form cf. Ruth, 1, 1; 1, 2; 2 S. 1, 21, Mich. 2, 4). Professor HAUPT suggests to read שרה, but since שרי is a poetical form for שרות (cf. GK § 84a^f, 93¹¹, Barth ZDMG 42, 351) I do not feel that I ought to emend the text.

Heb. דבש and Arab. دبس generally denotes *jelly, jam, or syrup*; it should not be confused with the natural bee honey, which is usually

known in Arab. as *عسل* (cf. Baedeker's *Palestine and Syria*, p. 157) and in Heb. *דבש דבורים*. IE, Rsbm, and ROSENMÜLLER call it *דבש תמרים*, in Greek : *μέλι ἄγριον*. JOSEPHUS praises a great deal the produce of Palestine (cf. *Jos. The Wars of the Jews*, Book III, Chap. 3). During the period of the Talmud the olives of a certain location were very well known (cf. *Menahot*, p. 88). Hence it is not necessary to assume that the poet referred to wild honey or wild oil (cf. DRIVER, p. 359).

V. 14. The word *אילים* according to some MSS (cf. *מנחת שי* commentary *ad loc.*), appears in the same hemistich with *עם חלב כרים*. Both *אילים* and *כרים* were written in the margin with the intention of explaining *עתודים* and *בני בשן*; the word *כרים* was written on the left side of *עתודים*, and *אילים* in some texts to the right side of *בני בשן*. In still other texts *אילים* was written on the left side as an additional explanation to *כרים*. The scribe by dittography of v. b *עם חלב* had good ground for corrupting the text. He added to the corruption the word found in the margin. The sequence of the verses was therefore disarranged.

Heb. *כרים*, singular *כר*, is derived from a stem *כרר* to be thick, fat heavy, strong.

Rsbm derives the word *כליות* sing. *כליה* kidney from the stem *כלה* to long, desire (cf. Ps. 84, 3, etc.) and the form is analogous to *שביה* from *שבה*. The kidneys were taken to be the seat of passion and consciousness; therefore the people considered them as organs of great importance (cf. the expressions *בהן כליות ולב*, Jer. 11, 20; *ראה כליות ולב*, Jer. 20, 12; *יסרוני כליותי* Ps. 16, 7, and *מוכר כליות* consciousness). HAUPT maintains that Heb. *כליה* is to be derived from a biconsonantal root *כל* to hold, and kidney means *capsuled, enclosed* (cf. AJSL 22, 257). It is not necessary to agree with LÖHR that *כליות* is a gloss to *חמה*.

The Heb. *משתה חמר* means a fermented drink (cf. Arab. *خمر fermented*), cf. JBL 40, 173¹.

I am inclined to believe that the M *דם ענב* was originally *דמע ענב* grape-juice (cf. Ex. 22, 28 *ודמעך לא תאחר*). *דמע* may refer to the juice of any fruit especially wine and oil, also cf. Arab. *دمعة الكرم, wine, دماغ, liquor*. The root probably is *דם*, Arab. *دمدم* to squeeze. The stem *دم* has as derivatives *دمع*, to shed tears, to issue blood (wound), to shed fine rain, and *دمي* blood (cf. Arab. *نضح* and Heb. *נצה*) juice, blood.

For the **M** תשתה in **G** ἔπιοντο ὁἱ σὺν, **V** *biberet*, **S** **امصوا**. LUTHER *trankete*, **Sd.** **وكان دم العنب يشربه خمرًا**. LÖHR believes that תשתה חמר is a gloss to רב-ענב. The emendation of תשתה (**Klost.**, LÖHR, EHRLICH) *thou wilt drink* to משתה *a drink* is good; for משתה in this sense cf. Jer. 51, 39; Ezr. 3, 7; Dan. 1, 5. For interchange of prefixed ט and ת cf. תרבות, מרבית, משובה and תשובה; מוצאות and תוצאות. BUDDE's objection to the emendation תשתה is not serious, since it is not necessary to assume that the poet changes his address suddenly in order to enliven the speech.

V. 15. The **SmH** and **G** have an additional hemistich which does not appear in the **RT**. **SmH** ויאכל יעקב וישבע, **G** καὶ ἔφαγεν Ἰακώβ καὶ ἐνεπλήσθη. Similar expressions, however, do occur in several passages in the OT (cf. Dt. 4, 11; 8, 10; 31, 20; Hos. 13, 6; Ps. 78, 29; and Prov. 30, 9). DRIVER thinks that this hemistich is superfluous, and its addition makes v. 15 long and heavy. According to LÖHR, this hemistich was added by the same scribe who inserted v. 14 and v. 15a. The word וישמן should follow ויאכל and וינקח, but they were separated in order to distinguish between וישמן and ושמן, which otherwise would be confused. LÖHR also assumes that the second hemistich of this verse was lost and therefore the scribe substituted a familiar saying instead of the genuine line. These conjectures are too mechanical. The fact that one extra hemistich was found in the **SmH** and **G** texts indicates that some changes took place in this part of the poem. Moreover, the following verse (v. 16) is entirely different in its meter from the rest of the poem. I believe that the genuine line was

וַיֹּאכַל יַעֲקֹב וַיִּשְׁבַּע וַיִּשְׁמֵן יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיִּבְטַח

But Jacob ate and was content
Jeshurun grew fat and saucy.

The verb בעט *to kick* requires an object. I read בטר for בעט. Cf. Arab. **بطر**, *to be insolent, saucy, to act offensively towards God*. With BUDDE and KAUT. against LÖHR and DRIVER I maintain that this hemistich completes the thought involved in the parallelism of this verse.

Instead of the **M** ישרון the **G** has ὁ ἡγαπημένος, though *Graecus Venetus* reads Ἰσραηλίσκος; **O** ועתר ישראל ובעט, **Y** דבית ישרן; **J** בית ישראל, **V** dilectus; **IE**, as well as many modern exegetes, derived ישרון from ישר *straight*, while a number of other Jewish commentators maintained its etymology from שור. The **S** has simply **المصفاة**: LUTHER does not mention this name altogether; **Sd.** translates **الموصوف**,

the praised one. ILGEN, *sorte electus* from Arab. *يسر*, *sagittis sortitus est*. GROTIUS considered the word *ישרון* as a corruption and contraction of *ישראל*, a diminutive form of *ישראל*. In order to solve the problem of the difference in the *ש* and *ש*, J. D. MICHAELIS reads *ישרון*. EWALD endorses GROTIUS' opinion and renders as *Israelchen* on the analogy of *Völkchen* (cf. E § 167^d). HENGSTENBERG (*Bileam*, p. 98) proved that the ending *ûn* is not employed in Hebrew to form the diminutive, but it is used to construct certain proper names (cf. *זבולון*, *ידותון*). The view of HENGSTENBERG is supported by KURTZ, SCHULTZ, and VOLCK (cf. KAMP. p. 77 and HAUPT, JAOS 44, 157). The word *ישרון*, I believe, is derived from an old Hebrew stem *שרו* (or *ושר* in a transposed form) which appears in Arabic as *سرو* and means *to be high, lofty, to be of a liberal and generous character*. The *Ift.* form *استرى* *to choose, to select people or animals, سروات*, *princes, selected officers, people of high rank*. The name *ישרון* would mean then *the selected one, the chosen one*. The word *ישרון* was coined during the Babylonian exile and at the time of this prophet, when Israel was named the *servant of JHVH*, cf. Deutero-Isaiah where Jacob is called the servant of JHVH, the chosen one.

אל-תירא עבדי יעקב וישרון בחרתי בו

"Fear not, O Jacob, my servant,

And Jeshurun, whom I have chosen" (Is. 44, 2).

Undoubtedly, the prophet did not mean to call Israel *upright*, but *chosen one*, for Israel was considered to be the lot of JHVH and chosen by Him. The stem *שרו* occurs in the OT in various forms and always it was misinterpreted. The passage in Jer. 5, 10 should not be emended into *שרותיה* or *שרותיה*, but it should remain as it is, and means *her lofty, her most beautiful places*^{a)}. According to Dt. 3, 9, the Canaanites called *Mount Hermon*, the highest mountain in Palestine *שניר*. The same name appears also in a transposed form as *שריין* (Ps. 29, 6). The Egyptian word *usr*, $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ — which means *to be strong, to be high* like the neck of the giraffe (cf. Heb. *ענק* both *neck* and *giant*) should be connected with the Semitic *שר* *to be high, lofty*. The same word appears also as *sr* $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ by dropping the initial *u* (cf. Arab. *حده وحده*, oneness), and while in New Egyptian the *u* reappears as *i* in *sir* $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ — *high officer, adviser, prince*.

Verse 15a probably was written in the margin. This expression and its place in the text would be understood only if we assume that *שמנת עבית*

a) cf. also Gn. 49, 22.

כשית was merely a saying used to denounce the one who is ungrateful. The scribe deemed it necessary to insert here a well known by-word.

It is possible that v. 15b was taken from a different poem, and it was inserted here in order to explain v. 15a. Afterwards, v. 16 was added as an explanatory gloss to v. 15b. For a parallel passage cf. Ps. 78, 57.

The word כשית is ἀπ. λεγ.; its meaning is very much obscured. The G reads ἐπλατύνθη; V *dilatatus*. O Y J and S translate (using the third person instead of second) וקנא נכסין; SmT אשפרית; Sd. has *جسوت* before this expression, and he renders כשית as *جسوت* *hardened*; IE *למה הואת אתה ומעמך בעמך* *there is no brother to this word; it means kicked*. Rashi derives it from כסה (like בחלבו כסה). GRÆTZ wants to emend עשת *becomest sleek* for כשית, as in Jer. 5, 28 *עשתו*. J. D. MICHAELIS reads כשית with ש, and compares it with the Syr. *ܟܫܐ* and translates *accumulavit*. GESENIUS, KEIL, and DRIVER assume a meaning *to be gorged with food* (Arab. *كشى*, *to be filled with food*). J. B. de Rossi found in 30 MSS כשית, and believes that this reading was influenced by the Syriac (cf. Var. Lect. Supplement, p. 25). This word, however, may be derived from a stem כשה or כסה (the ה represents an original ו or י) similar to the Arab. *كسا* which is explained in the *محيط المحيط* as *كسام مكاساة*, *glory, honor, greatness, or highness*. *كسام مكاساة* is interpreted by *فاخره*, *he vied with him in glory*. If we admit the existence of such a stem in Hebrew, this passage may be translated as follows: *Thou grewest fat, plump, and great*. This means *greatness in wealth, fame* (cf. above S O, etc.) and *celebrity*. The passage in Ps. 81, 3 *בכסה ליום חגנו* does not mean *on the full moon of our feast day*, but, *on the celebration of our feast day*. Prov. 7, 19-20 *ביום הכסא יבוא ביתו* could only mean *on the day of celebration he will come home*.

The G translates *ἀπὸ θεοῦ* by *וינבל*; O J קדם תקיפא; Y וארניז קדם תקיפא; Sd. *وامتحان*, *he tested*, S *من صلب* V *recessit a Deo*. The stem נבל in the Pi., as ROSENMÜLLER (with IE) suggested, which means *vilipendit, he slighted, despised, disdained*, (so KAMP., SCHULTZ, KNOB., DILL., BUDDE and others) is correct (for similar passages cf. Jer. 14, 21; Mich. 7, 6).

V. 16. The G *παράξυσνά με* and *ἐξέπράξυσνά με* reads the first person sing. με, while the M has the third (Suff. הו). In S *انجده* the subject is singular. The SmH *יקנאח יכעסהו*; and SmT *פנסתה* and *אכעסתה*. Since the spelling of these two words in the M is defective, one may conjecture that the original reading was singular. בורים probably

(Rmbn, IE) באלהים זרים (cf. Ps. 44, 21 ; 81, 10 ; and Is. 43, 12 ; cf. also נכר in v. 12). In Ass. *zâru*, to hate, to be an enemy. According to Professor HAUPT the word, תועבה is derived from a stem עיב ועב which appears in Arab. as عيب meaning *shame* ; cf. ميبة.

V

The apostasy of the Chosen People. Verses 5, 17, 6a and 18 ; v. 6b is a gloss to v. 6a.

V. 5. This verse is well known to all biblical scholars, who have studied this chapter, as one of the most difficult verses in the OT to interpret. The corruption is so involved that one may see beforehand how difficult it is to find the truth. Although many suggestions have been offered none of them is satisfactory. G ἡμάρτοσαν, οὗ αὐτῶ τέκνα, μωμητά, or in some other MSS ἡμάρτοσαν, οὗ αὐτῶ, τέκνα μωμητά; V *Peccaverunt ei, et non filii ejus, in sordibus* ; SmH שחתו לו לא בני מום SmT שחתו לו לא ליה ברי ערברב O חבילו להון לא ליה בניה דפלחו למעותא Y חבילו בניה עובדיהון ולא קדמוי מחבלין להון עד די חבילו מומא אתיהב בהון J **محبك سلا لاله** S חבילו עובדיהון טביא בניה הביביא אשתכח מומא בהון J **حبله يصفط**. Perhaps it is of some interest to note that both the MT and the SmH have first לו and then לא, while almost all the translations have the reversed order. J does away with both לו and לא and has simply אשתכח חבילו להון. Sd. reads **لا كاولياء لكن الميين**, taking الحبل from the next hemistich to be the subject of the verb **افسد**. ROSENMÜLLER, *peccarunt, non ei filii vituperabiles*. EWALD tried to explain מומם from the Syr. **صمما** oath, Ass. *mâmitu* < *amû*, but there is no reason for using a Syriac word instead of the Hebrew שבועה; moreover we do not know of any oath that was taken by the Israelites. KNOB. reads : *Verderbt handelte es ihm, ein verdrehtes und verkehrtes Geschlecht ; nicht seine Söhne, ihr Flecken*. He takes the last statement to be in apposition to the subject of שחת. This suggestion is not probable. KAMPHAUSEN, following the G μωμητά, reads **לא בני מומם** *nicht seine Kinder, Schandflecken sind sie*. KLOSTERMANN emends the text thus : שחתו לו אמונם, and gives the following reason for this change : “*Es scheint mir ausserordentlich nahe-liegend, dass eine irrige Verdoppelung von לו dazu geführt habe, das א, welches jetzt in לא als Bestandteil des Vorhergehenden erscheint, vom Folgenden abzutrennen, und dass בניו und מומם die Reste zweier Lesarten eines und desselben Wortes seien, nämlich אמונוני und אמונם, welche sich ebenso zu einander verhalten, wie das von LXX und Sam. ausgedrückte שחתו*”

und das massoretische שחת. According to him, one version read שחת לו אמוני, and the other שחתו לו אמונם (*Der Pent.*, p. 278). A corruption of this kind could hardly take place. DRIVER's interpretation of this passage is not any easier than the MT itself. BUDDE reads : שחתו לו בניו עולם by transposing עול from v. 4b, and translates *Schändlich frevelten an ihm seine Söhne*, but this does not express the idea implied in the Hebrew text. If we wish to translate BUDDE's words into Hebrew, they would be שחתו לו בניו עולם, and not בעולה שחתו לו בניו ; moreover he does not explain the strange construction בניו עולם which puzzled all the exegetes. DILLMANN's emendation שחתו לו בניו מום בם, *entartet sind ihm seine Söhne* ; *ein Makel an ihnen* is not satisfactory. KAUT. following in the steps of BUDDE translates : *Arg frevelten an ihm seine Söhne*, and comments as follows : " mit בניו עולם mit Platzwechsel von 'äwel (v. 4) mit mum (v. 5) dessen Suffix- *ām* für 'äwl-verbleibt", but he does not show the significance of *ām* being affixed to 'äwel. Rashi agrees with the interpretation of O on this passage. According to him, the peculiar construction בניו מומם is identical with בניו של מומם, *it is their vice* (namely) *of His sons*. It seems to me that IE and Rmbn were the only commentators who interpreted this passage without making any serious alteration in the text. IE comments as follows : באלו אמר שחת לו דור עקש שהם לא בניו וזהו מומם, *As if one would say, corrupted to Him, a perverse generation, who are not His sons, and this is their blemish, i. e. they do not act as true children toward their God and this is their defect* (cf. Num. 21, 29 where the Moabites were considered as sons and daughters of Kemosh). The comment of Rmbn is still better כי מומם בם מומם בם כי משחתם כמו שנאמר, *The blemish is called a corruption, as it is stated, "for their corruption is in them, (therefore) a blemish is in them", because the blemish of Israel is to corrupt to the Rock of his nation and his lot*. Isaiah called the people זרע מרעים, *seed of evil doers*, and בנים משחיתים *corrupting sons* (Isaiah 1, 4) i. e. that their ancestors were just as bad as they were (cf. Jer. 3, 14, 22 ; Jer. 4, 22 ; cf. also the expression בית המרי, used often by Ezekiel). If we consider the order of the words in this hemistich to be correct, we must assume that this was merely a dialectic way of expressing a compound sentence. The usual way of expressing this idea would be as follows : בניו שחת לו מומם, *His children, to corrupt toward Him is their defect* ; cf. GK § 143a. According to Professor HAUPT, the וזא is a euphemistic insertion (cf. JBL 26, 26m) which stood first in the margin, and then crept into the text. I believe, that the text becomes clear if we

restore the לא in v. 5 to its proper place in v. 4b and read v. 4b אל-אמונה ולא אל עול *A God of truth and not of injustice* (cf. Crit. Notes v. 4). The Pi. of שחת requires sometimes the indirect object and it is construed usually with כ; cf. Num. 32, 5; 1 Sam 33, 10, and EWALD § 282^c. The reading שחת given by the G O Y S V, etc. may be considered as a free translation of the Hebrew text and need not be adopted. The form שחת is not perfect third person singular but infinitive construct. QIMHI and KÖNIG admit the probability of such a form; cf. GK § 52^o). The Hebrew verb שחת; Arab. سحت; Eth. ሰሐሰ and Syr. ܫܚܬ, where ט is due to partial assimilation to ה, to corrupt, according to Professor HAUPT may be considered as a denominative verb of the word שחת a pit (cf. AJSJ 23, 248). The Hebrew מום must not be derived from the Syr. ܡܥܠ to take an oath, swear (EWALD § 160^d) but from the Syr. ܡܥܡܪ a spot, mark, fault, defect and vice (cf. P. Smith's CSD, p. 257). The form מומם is predicate, and the pronominal suffix ם refers to subject בניו. I, independently, had arrived at the same understanding of this passage as Rmbn did before me.

In the Qal, עקש means to bend; cf. Syr. ܥܩܫ Arab. عقم, (س due to partial assimilation to the ق). The Pi. has the sense to be crooked, twisted. עקש may be considered as a doublet of עקל, עקה, עגל, עקל (g due to partial assimilation to l). The form עקש is based on the analogy of חגר, אלה etc. to denote a defect (cf. EWALD § 155^e). This word occurs usually in connection with פה, דרך and לבב, but here it modifies the word דור.

The word דור meant originally a turn; cf. Arab. دور; Syr. ܕܐܪ to turn and a turn. The Arab. تار to repeat; Aram. תור a turn, Eg. 𓂏𓂐𓂑𓂒 tr, a year meant one revolution (cf. also Heb. שנה, a year originally a change). The Arab. جيل, generation and Heb. גיל age may be derived from Heb. גלל to roll, turn; Arab. جل, to turn and Syr. ܕܠܠ, to move around in a circle.

The form פתלתל is modeled in accordance with the form שחרחר, שחרר by doubling the last two letters of the radical, (E § 157^c). It is derived from פתל, denominative from פתילה, a wick; Arab. قتل, to spin and Syr. ܦܬܠ, to twist.

V. 17. The M שדים is rendered by the G δαίμονες; V daemonis; O שדין דלית בהון צרוך; Y שדיא דלית בהון ממש; J שדיא דלית בהון צרוך.

Rashi and other Jewish commentators explain it as שְׁעִירִים, *spirits, demons*. Sd. الشياطين. This interpretation is impossible because these ideas were borrowed by the Rabbis from the Persian belief in a comparatively late period. A great many modern exegetes derive this word from שָׂדֵד. I prefer, however, the etymology suggested by KAMP., from the Arab. ساد *to become lord, master*, to all the others. The word שָׂדֵד occurs once more in the OT and stands in parallel position with עֲצָבִי כֹנֵעַן (Ps. 106, 36). Heb. עֲצָב *idol, divinity* may be derived etymologically from Arab. عصب, *to have sinews, to tighten* (cf. Heb. חֲנֻכָּה, אֲזֻרָּכָה *to take by force*; the second form has the meaning *to choose* and מַעֲבָב, *crowned, lord, master*). The word עֲצָב meant originally *power, might*, and from this developed the idea of *divinity*. Probable the Heb. שָׂדֵד was formed on the basis of the Ass. šadu, mountain, lord (cf. Heb. צֹר, סֹלֶעַ in sense of deity cf. vv. 4, 15, 18 etc.). This is a title and proper name of divinity (cf. ¹¹ Ašur šadû rabû, Ašur, the mighty and great; ¹² Šadû rabû, the great Šadu; DEL. AHW, p. 643 ^a). Such etymology is plausible since our author is very fond of the use of צֹר *rock* for *divinity*.

The word מִקְרָב in certain passages may refer either to distance or time. Here, however, can refer only to time and not to distance as CLERICUS, DATHE, de WETTE, BAUMGARTEN, etc., because it is followed by the phrase רָמְקָרְבַּת אֲתַתִּיהֶם, *which their fathers did not perceive*, O רָמְקָרְבַּת אֲתַתִּיהֶם; Y מִיָּמִים מֵעַתָּה אֵינָם קָדְמוּנִים; IE דְּמוּנִן קָרִיב אֲתַתִּיהֶם; J מִן כְּדֹן אֲתַתִּיהֶם; G ὁμοῦσας, V *recentesque*; Sd. مَن قَرِيبَ, (cf. JHUC, 316, 20).

Read לא אֱלֹהִים for לא אֱלֹהִים; the ה was inserted by dittography with אֱלֹהִים in the second hemistich.

For the M שְׁעָרָם OJ read לא אֲתַתִּיקוּ בָהֶן, Y לא אֲדַכְרִין בָּהֶן. Rashi's interpretation לא עֲמָדָה שְׁעָרָתָם בְּפָנֵיהֶם, *their hair did not stand up from before them, i. e. from fear*. IE وَلَا فَتَدُوْا مِنْهُمْ مَلْشُوْنَ سَعَرَةً, S لَا يَسْلُكُهُ لَحْصَةً; Sd. وَلَمْ يَعْجَبْ بِهَا *did not pay heed to them* (lit. to it). V *non-coluerunt*. The translation of the G οἱ πατέρες αὐτῶν αἰς may be more correct. Heb. שָׁעַר may be connected with Arab. شعر (so HAUPT, JHUC 316, 24), meaning *to perceive*, and would complete the parallel idea expressed in the first hemistich.

Instead of M אֲתַתִּיקוּ read with the G οἱ πατέρες αὐτῶν, אֲתַתִּיהֶם.

V. 6. According to the Masorites the first ה in הִלִּיהוּהוּ is a ה רבתי והיא תיבה בפני עצמה. This may suggest some corruption in the text. The reading of the G ταῦτα Κυρίῳ ἀνταποδίδετε οὐτῶς is somewhat

different from the MT and conforms greatly with the Targum of O **הא מן קדם ה' תגמלוהו** S **هالک**, and V *Haeccine*. This shows that perhaps in the original text there was some demonstrative particle, possibly an old demonstrative particle, which corresponds to the ה in Aram. הדין and the ه in Arab. هذا which is really composed of two demonstratives ها and ذا put together; or a short form האל for האלה, and due to haplology, the אל syllable was omitted, leaving the ה standing apart from the preceding word. IE reports that Rabbi Samuel Hannagid understood this ה, which stands alone in the text to be a מלה זרה (cf. IE מאונים, קכג). Sd. reads **الله تخافون بهذه الافعال**; in some MSS the ה of the preceding word is joined to the ה forming הל. This kind of spelling encouraged some commentators to identify this הל with the Arabic interrogative particle هل an idea which is very doubtful. In the Talmud Jerushalmi, Megillah, 1,71^cf. Rabbi Joshua, the son of Rabbi Hanan'el, spells הליהוה in one word (cf. also *Sofrim* IX, 6). Jolowicz, in his book *On the correction of the text of the Hebrew scriptures, from the Talmud, the Targum and other rabbinical authorities* (London, 1855, p. 6) showed that the correct spelling הליהוה may be adopted.

The G has the Ind. Pres. ἀνταποδίδοτε; also OJ have אתון גמלין; Sd. تخافون. The tense of תגמלו may be considered as representing an action which was still taking place during the time of the prophet (cf. GK § 107'). The change from the second person plural into singular as BUDDÉ and KAUT. suggest is not required.

The Heb. stem גמל Arab. جمل is probably a doublet of (cf. Arab. كل and Ass. kamālu to be revengeful, to resent) גמר. It means to *complete*; *wean*; *to do good or evil, repay, recompense, requite and retaliate*. According to Professor HAUPT, the original root is כם (cf. AJSL, 24, 153).

The reading of the G **ωδού** and BUDDÉ **זאת כזאת** for **זאת** is probable.

For Heb. גבל the G has **μωρός**; V *stulte*; Y **אומא מפשא**; J **עמא**; **עמא דקבילו אורייתא ולא הכימו**, דהון מפשין, Sd. **جاهل**; ROSENMÜLLER, *impio*; O gives a free rendering of this hemistich: *people who received the law, and did not become wise*. Rashi explains גבל as הכופרים *unbelievers*, basing this interpretation on Ps. 14, 1 cf. 53, 2 where *the fool said in his heart: 'There is no god'*. The fool means unbeliever, either Jew or gentile, while the חכם, *wiseman* is a *believer*; ראשית חכמה יראת יהוה (cf. Ps. 111, 10; Pr. 9, 10; 15, 33, and Job. 28, 28). The stem גבל means

to be foolish, to be disgraceful. The Arab. *بَلِه* *blāḥ*, to be foolish *بله* or *ابلد*, foolish, silly; *أَبِلَ* pl. *بَل*, wicked, unjust; modern *أَبِلَ* to grow stupid, silly; in modern Arabic *بَهْل* and *بَهْلُول* fool, stupid. The root is *בל*.

The word *הלא* does not mean only *it is not*, but it is also an emphatic expression which may be rendered in English by means of *verily*, *הלא הם*, *כתובים*, means *they are verily written* 1 K 11, 41; 15, 7; 16, 14; etc. *הלא את היא המחרבת ים*, *Verily thou art the One who caused the sea to dry up*. Is. 51, 10; cf. also Ps. 54, 2; 60, 12; Pr. 8, 1; Job. 12, 11, etc. Instead of *אבך*, Sd. has *منشك*.

The stem *קנה*, to possess, (cf. AJP, 45, 251; Marti Festschrift, p. 120. l. 3), never meant to produce (DRIVER), nor to create (KNOB., BUDDÉ, etc.). In the passages in Gen. 14, 19, 22 *קנה שמים וארץ* it does not mean *creator*, but *owner* of heaven and earth. Pr. 8, 22 *קני יהוה* means JHVH possessed me, and not created me. Rashi interprets this passage *שקנך בקן הסלעים* as if the stem was *קנן* to make or to establish a nest. Rsbm however understood it differently. According to him it means *שפדאן* מבית עבדים.

V. 18. The letter י of *תשי* in the MT is written with a small *iod* (*יוֹד זעירא*). O translates *אתגשיתא*; YJ *אנשיתון*; G *ἐγκατέλιπες*, V *dereliquisti*. Sd. has at the beginning of this verse *فَقِيلَ*; he translates both *תשי* and *ותשכה* by one word *تسي*, S *لجسه*. Some SmH texts read *תשא*. IE *כמו לא תגשה*. He and Rsbm believe that the genuine text read *תַּשׁ* from *נשה* like *תַּמ* from *גטה*, and treat final *iod* as a gloss. ROSEN-MÜLLER was right in deriving this verb from Arab. *سوى*, or from *سها*, to neglect after assuming metathesis between the ה and the י (cf. Syr. *ܫܗܐ* to neglect). According to him, *תשי* must be derived from *שיה* because if it were from *גשה*, it would be necessary to spell it either *תָּשִׁי* or *תָּשִׁי*.

For M *מחללך* SmH reads *מהללך*; SmT *משבחך*, YJ *ועבדתיכון מחלין*; Rashi *המוציאך מרחם*; IE *כמו ילדך*; Sd. *مبتدك*; G *τρέφοντός τε*. I believe the M reading is correct. This phrase is used in a metaphorical sense in order to convey the idea that the nation was formed by JHVH. cf. *ותחולל ארץ*, Ps. 90, 2 (JBL, 31, 126) and Ass. *zālu, iṣīlu*, be in labor, be parturient.

VI

JHVH's speech begins. He requites His People according to their deeds. Verses 19, 20, and 21.

V. 19. Rmbn says : והנה עד הנה בשירה משה ישיר בה והוא מדבר בלשון Behold, up to here, in the poem, Moses is singing and he speaks in his own language, but from this passage where it is mentioned "When JHVH saw etc.", the Honored Name spoke it.

OJS translate רגז מן כעס דאכעיסו Y ; ותקף רוגזיה מדארגיו קדמויה V ; יתה V et ad iracundiam concitatus est, quia provocaverunt eum ; ROSENMÜLLER, excussit (cf. Arab. ناص or ناص) ; A. MONTANUS, L. CAPPELLUS, and EWALD excise מכעס and consider בניו ובנותיו to be the object of וינאץ. KAMP. agrees with PICATOR who assumes that בניו ובנותיו is not gen. of the subject, but the gen. of the object, (cf. E § 286^b) as in v. 27. KAMP. maintains also that the object of וינאץ here is implied (cf. DILL. for וינאץ as absolute) as in Jer. 14, 21. I believe, however, that the object of both passages is explicit. We must read the passage in Jer. 14, 21 as follows: וינאץ אל-תנאץ מֶעֶן שָׁמךְ, Do not cast down the abode of Thy name, which is parallel with אל-תנבל כסא כבודך, Do not despise the throne of Thy honor. The ל was prefixed to מֶעֶן (written defective) because it was mistaken for a short form of למען, for the sake of. The word מֶעֶן residence refers to the temple (cf. 2 Chr. 36, 15). The genuine reading of the verse that we are dealing with was as follows: וירא יהוה וינאצִים ויבָקַעַם בָּנָיו וּבָנוֹתָיו. When JHVH saw this He repudiated them and harassed His sons and daughters. BUDDE calls the attention of the OT scholars to the fact that the G has two verbs ἀλλ' ἐξέζηλωσεν, ἀλλ' παρωξένησεν which he renders in Heb. as ויבָקַעַם וינאץ, taking קנא to have the same meaning as קנא (cf. v. 29 where they stand in parallel positions) and translates Ward eifersüchtig und verstieß seine Söhne und Töchter. The Heb. text was corrupted when the וי of ויבָקַעַם, written closely was mistaken for a מ, and by haplography the מ of וינאצם was omitted. Sd. correctly translates فلما رأى ذلك الله فرضهم, when God saw that, He repudiated them. We may accept BUDDE's emendation ויבָקַעַם instead of מכעס, but we must vocalize it differently. I suggest to read the Hip. ויבָקַעַם (not the Qal) with the meaning He harassed (cf. v. 21 for similar meaning). Having made these emendations I do not find any necessity for interchanging the position of ויבָקַעַם and וינאץ. Thus בניו ובנותיו would be the object of ויבָקַעַם.

V. 20. The word ויאמר is a gloss. LÖHR, HAURI, BUDDE, HAUPT, and others do away with it in order to establish the regularity of the meter. Sd. renders פני אסתירה by احجب رحي ; cf. Marti Festschrift, p. 122,

n. 17; for this expression. O translates אַרְאִיהֶם מֵה אַרְאָה by נִלִּי קִרְמִי מֵה; Rashi נִחְמִי מֵה יִהְיֶה בְּסוֹפָהּן; J אֲחִמִּי מֵה יִהְיֶה בְּאֲחֵרֵיהֶן; Y יִהְיֶה בְּסוֹפָהּן; V *et considerabo novissima eorum*; SmT וְחִזִּי מֵה עֲקֵבָאֵיהֶן; עד שֶׁאֲרָאָה מֵה יַעֲשׂוּ בְּצֵר לָהֶם; ROSENMÜLLER, *videbo quis exitus eorum*. BUDDE has shown already that the G $\alpha\lambda\lambda\ \delta\epsilon\iota\chi\omega\ \tau\acute{\iota}\ \epsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\iota\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$ is more correct than the MT, because the statement in the latter may reflect upon JHVH who knows and foresees all the happenings. After adapting BUDDE's emendation there is no object of the verb. I therefore suggest to read with Sd. אֲרָאֵם, אֲרָאֵם, אֲרָאֵם or אֲרָאֵם I'll show them. It is easy to see how the suffix ם was omitted on account of its proximity to a word beginning with the same consonant. The original hemistich was as follows: אֲרָאֵם מֵה אַחֲרֵיהֶם.

The word אחרית in certain passages means *final doom, outcome* ;
G ἐπ' ἐσχάτων ἡμερῶν.

For **M** תַּהֲפֹכֶת, **O** has דַּרְא דַּשְׁנִי אָנוּן, **Y** דַּרְא דַּתְּהִפְכִּינוּן, **IE** מַהֲפֹכִים. **R** דַּרְא דַּתְּהִפְכִּינוּן. **S** דַּרְא דַּתְּהִפְכִּינוּן. **SmH** דַּרְא דַּתְּהִפְכִּינוּן. **G** has γερεχ ἐξεστραμμένη. According to Rashi, the form תַּהֲפֹכֶת may be regarded either as adj. or noun (*cf.* אֲמוֹנִים).

SmH reads **בם לא האמן** instead of M **בם לא אמן**.

V. 21. Rashi explains בגאונאי הבעירו חמתי, they kindled my wrath. The G reads παραεξηλώσαν με, V *Ipsi me provocaverunt*. Sd. كما هم اكادوني, as they have provoked me; IE believes that the middle radical in בגאונאי was not doubled on account of euphony (קל על העין). Y interprets בלא אל as במעון דלא מה; IE believes that the middle radical in בגאונאי was not doubled on account of euphony (להקל על הלשון). Rashi explains בגאונאי as בגאון. The expression בהבליהם is interpreted in the G as ἐν τοῖς εἰδώλοις αὐτῶν; V in *vanitatibus suis*; SmH has באבליהם, with א instead of ה. Y במרחקהוּן; J בהבליהוּן; IE בדבר אמת ולא בדבר אמת. Y interpretation in their vanities is better; cf. modern Arab. ماله, vapor. When this comes in contact with the air, it vanishes immediately; therefore Arab. هبل or Heb. הבל may express the idea of the instability of a thing, in contrast with JHVH who is everlasting. The S reads حلكل for בלא-עם, probably a mistake, since the G has οὐκ ἔσθαι; V non est populus, and so others. Rashi interprets בלא-עם as באמה שאין לה שם, and he believes that it refers to the Chaldeans. The G translates בגאונאי עמא טפשא, by the Babylonians, a foolish people. Rashi, however takes this expression to refer to the unbelievers.

Descriptions of JHVH's wrath. He determines to annihilate His people. Verses 22, 23, 25a, and 26. Verse 24 is a gloss to v. 23. It enumerates the various kinds of JHVH's arrows. Verse 24c is a tertiary gloss to v. 24b. Verse 25b is a gloss to v. 25a. It gives some details about the type of victims.

V. 22. The V does not translate כִּי at all; the G renders it by ὅτι; O has אֲרִי קְרוֹם תְּקוּהָ; SmT תִּלָּה, Sd. لَان; all modern commentators translate *for*. The meaning of כִּי in this passage is *when* (cf. Lev. 23, 10; Deut. 26, 1). There follow three verbs in the imperfect with the ו consecutive in the MT. The G reads ἐκκέχαιται.... καυθήσεται.... καταφάγεται and φλέξει not using the ו throughout. The SmT תִּלָּכֶשׁ תִּזְיִי תִנְצֹנֵן תִּסְרִיף תִּסְרִיף תִּנְצֹנֵן while the SmH has וְתִקְדֶּר and תִּלָּכֶשׁ תִּלָּכֶשׁ. The ו in the MT may be retained, but the vocalization must be changed, and read וְתִקְדֶּר וְתִלָּכֶשׁ. As to the tense, (cf. GK § 107^d) it represents a vivid description of the wrath of JHVH. According to BUDDE, *dieses Perfectum erklärt sich leicht als Relativsatz 'Denn das flammt, etc.'*. Sd.'s rendering تَقْدَحْ is correct. The expression אֵשׁ קָרָחָה בְּאִפוֹ is similar to אֵשׁ קָרָחָה בְּאִפוֹ or עֵשֶׂן אִפוֹ (cf. to snort = to force the air with violence through the nose, said of persons under excitement. It seems as if the Hebrews considered the nose as the seat of anger, the most irritable and sensitive organ (just as the liver was the seat of joy and the kidneys that of consciousness, cf. Ass. *kabittî immir*, more often *Kabittuka lipšax* — to appease thy liver). The Heb. stem קָרָחָה, Arab. قَدَحَ; Syr. حَبَب; Eth. ቋቋ meant originally *to strike mightily* so as to cause sparks to come out. Later it became an usual expression for *striking a flint* in order to light a fire. *To bore* is secondary and probably the primary idea was *to strike deeply, to pierce*, and finally *to bore*, cf. חָלַל *to pierce* (cf. חָלִיל, flute, Ass. *ḫalxallatu*), *cut into, mangle, mutilate* (MARTI-Festschrift 123, n. 30). It is not necessary to emend to תִּקְדֶּר the M תִּקְדֶּר (cf. Jer. 15, 14 and 17, 4) as BUDDE suggests though the stem is وَقَدَّ *to blaze*, (cf. יָרַשׁ *ורשׁ* < יִישֶׁן and *وسن* < יִישֶׁן). Instead of יְבוּלָה the Y has וּמִלִּיָּה, as if the text read וּמִלִּיָּה, which perhaps is better than יְבוּלָה. IE believes that the phrase אֶרֶץ יְבוּלָה refers to Palestine. The SmT renders the last hemistich as תִּלָּכֶשׁ דְּמִסִּי מְבִרִיָּה. By מְבִרִיָּה הָרִים Rashi understands the mountain of Jerusalem. Sd. translates جَبَل in the singular instead of the plural. For תִּלָּכֶשׁ מְבִרִיָּה הָרִים, cf. Nah. 1, 6 (JBL, 26, 9).

V. 23. O reads *אספה עליהן*; Y *אמרית במימר למיתייא*, but this word is preceded by the following statement: *וכר אינון יהיבין בבבל* and *when they were brought to Babylon, behold they began to worship their idols*, from which we may learn Jonathan's view concerning the date of this poem. IE *יש אומרים כמו אוסף והגבון אכלה*; Rashi *אחברי*; Rsbm *אספה* like *אכלה* for *לכפל לשונם*. Sd. *ازيدهم*. The G *συναζω*; V *congregabo*, SmT and S *اجل*. LUTHER, KEIL, BUDDE, and others, *häufen will ich*. According to KEIL, *אספה* *hinzufügen eins über das andere, danach im Hiph. «häufen»*. KLOST. *zusammenhäufen*; ROSENMÜLLER, *Corradam*. ZUNZ and EWALD, *ausschütten*; PHILIPPSON, *ausgiessen*; he combines it with the Arab. *سفع* *to spill*. KAMP. *überschütten* is not any better. KNOB. *ich raffte*; SCHULTZ, *ich will ausgebrauchen*. DRIVER, *I will add*; Rdq. *אספה ענין אכלה*. I believe the Hebrew stem *אספה* is identical with the Syr. *ܐܣܦܐ*, *to heap up, accumulate*. The Hip. *to cause to heap up, to load, to crush by a heavy load, and then, to crush down, destroy*. The passage in Am. 3, 15 *ובתים רבים יספו*, *many houses will be destroyed*, lit. *they will be crushed down*. The word *אספה* stands in parallel position with *הכה* and *כרת*. The passage in Ps. 40, 15 *מבקשי נפשי*, *those who seek my life in order to crush it*. The word *אספה* in this verse should be translated as *load on* (cf. Num. 32, 14; Is. 30, 1). The emendation of *בה* to *במו*, suggested by SIEVERS, is very helpful in restoring the regularity of the meter in this verse.

V. 24. The first two stichs of this verse are secondary glosses which were incorporated into the text in order to enumerate in detail the various kinds of JHVH's arrows. The meter, which consists of 2+2 beats, shows that this verse does not belong to this text; perhaps it was quoted from a different poem. V does not follow closely the MT. The peculiar construction of this verse, as it was noted by KAMP. and others, becomes obvious after adapting the conjecture stated above, *i. e.*, that this part of the verse is an explanatory gloss to *הצי*, and that the finite verb is *אכלה*. Since the stichs a + b of this verse were not sufficiently clear, a tertiary glossator added *אשלח בהם*. A fourth 'glossator deemed it necessary to add some more of JHVH's arrows, therefore he inserted *עפר* *חמתי וחלי עפר*, having a meter of 3 + 3 beats, different from the preceding stichs. This verse contains several *ἀπ. λεγ.*; moreover, a great many words used here are very rare in the OT.

Many etymologies have been suggest for the word *מוי*. The G translates *מוי רעב* by *τηγρόμενοι λιμῶ*; V *consumentor fame*; O *נפחיו כפן*

Y מנפה כפן using the sing. J מנפחי כפן. Jonathan prefixed to this hemistich an explicative statement as follows : אנלי יתהון במדי ובעלים מן נו : שבית בבל אעיקו להון *He exiled them to Media and Elam; in the midst of the Babylonian captivity they oppressed them*. SmH read מזה רעב להמו, separating להמי from the next hemistich, and the SmT מזה נאה מעמה, but the meaning is not clear. The S **נ.ל.פ.מ. ד.פ.ח.ל.ל.** Rashi although he agrees with O's view, cites the interpretation of Rabbi Moses the Darshan (preacher) from Toulouse, as follows : מוי רעב = שעיירי רעב, *hairy from hunger*, for אדם כחוש מגדל שער על בשרו a *skinny person has long hair on his body*; he compares מוי with Aram. מעו, Heb. עזים *goats*. Sd. translates : سجار الجوع. IE and Rdq. שרופי רעב deriving מוי from מוא (Dan. 3, 19), although the מ does not belong to the radical. LUTHER, *vor Hunger sollen sie verschmachten*. SCHULTZ, COCCEJUS, and DATHE connect מוי with Arab. مَر and مَم, ROSENMÜLLER, *marcidi facti fame*. He assumes that the stem is מָזַה and מוי is adj. pl. const. of מָזוּ.

He compares it with the Arab. مَم and مَر, *suxit*, a byform of the Heb. מצה or מצץ, *exugere* (Is. 66, 11). He says : *Apte exsucit fame, et exsuccidicintur, quibus succum corporis et humorem exhausit fames*. EWALD, *Verdorrt von Hunger*. FÜRST, *sucking at hunger*. The form is const. pl. of מזה, part. act. of מזה or מַסַּס-מזו, *to melt, dissolve*; cf. Syr. **ܡܚܣܐ**; Aram. מכא and Eth. **መከሰ**; KAMP. and KEIL, *sind sie abgemagert vor Hunger*; SCHULTZ, *Dass sie ausgedorrt von Hunger*; KNOB. *den Ausgesaugten des Hungers*. Professor HAUPT emends מְזֹרֶר רעב, *famine food* (cf. AJSL 26, 11); and GRÄTZ, רזי, *emaciated*; DRIVER, *sucked out by famine*; BUDDE, *Schwund des Hungers*. HAURI reads with GUNKEL רעב למזון ולחם *Hunger nach Speise und Brot*. This word, I believe, is derived from an old Hebrew verb זוי or זיי, which appears in Arabic as ذوى *to faint*. This meaning is applied at the present to plants which have not been watered. Naturally, the food of a plant consists mainly of water, because only by means of water can the plant absorb from the ground salt solutions, which are necessary for its maintenance. A plant can grow splendidly and give wonderful fruit only when it is well watered. The plant, therefore, may faint either from thirst or hunger. The grammatical form of מוי may be explained by analogy with similar stems. The present participle mas. sing. of the verb זָרַה, *to get sick* in the Hip. form would be מְרִיָּה, *something which brings sickness*. The pl. const. would be מְרִיָּי (cf. Dt. 7, 15; 28, 60). On the same basis we get from לָהָה Hip. present participle

מִלָּנָה sing. and מִלָּנִי in pl. From a stem נָנָה or נָנָה, Arab. نَوَى, the present part. Hip. sing. would be מִנָּנָה or מִנָּנִי, *something which causes fainting*, and pl. מִנָּנִי by haplology מִנִּי, which must be vocalized מִנָּנִי, not מִנִּי. Thus מִנִּי רָעַב would mean *faintings or faints from hunger*. The common expressions *dizziness or sickness from hunger* are similar to *fainting from hunger*. In the passage of Is. 5, 14 we find similar expressions but instead of מִנִּי we have מִתִּי. Many scholars found reasons for identity between these two passages although both stems are different from one another. The word מִתִּי here does not mean *people* as in מִסְפָּר מִתִּי but means *causers of death*. It is also derived from an old Hebrew verb having a stem similar to נָנָה i. e. תָּנָה or תָּנָה which appears in Arab. as تَوَى or تَامَ which in the Pi. or Hip. form means *to trouble somebody, to cause somebody to perish*. By analogy of מִנִּי we obtain מִתִּי *causers of death*. It was vocalized in MT as מִתִּי, due to the influence of מִתִּי in מִסְפָּר מִתִּי. Similar expressions about fainting from hunger are found also in English literature. "1548, Hall Chron. 60 B. P. 25 f. 'This miserable famyne... encreasyng so... that the stout souldiour for faintness could skase welde his weapon'".

All the Aramaic translations (אכילי עוף) agree with the G ὁσώσας εἶς, V devorabunt eos aves. S ܫܡܠܟܡ ܠܗܝܡ, ܢܫܐ ܚܝܡܐ. SmH. separates רָשַׁף from רָחַמִּי, so also the SmT. Sd. حمى الومج; Rashi, שנלחמו בהם השרים. LUTHER, und verzehret werden vom Fieber. ROSEN-MÜLLER, et absunti tela, and compares it with חָצִים דּוֹלְקִים (Ps. 7, 14). EWALD, und verzehret von Pest; SCHULTZ, und verzehret vom Brand; KNOB., den Verzehreten der Pest; though he explains רָשַׁף as Feuer, Flamme. Rdq. considered רָשַׁף as גָּחַל a byform of רָצַף. DRIVER, and eaten up by Firebolts. Professor HAUPT emends רָשַׁף לֶחֶם, plague bread, cf. רָחַם דְּמָעָה. לֶחֶם, and אֻנִּים. I read לֶחֶם, burnings (pl. const. of לֶחֶם) instead of the M לֶחֶם. From a chemical point of view, burning is merely a quick oxidation, while decay is a slow process of oxidation. The Semitic stem לָחַם meant originally *something to be consumed, food*. Arab. لَحْم, flesh, primarily food, meat; while بَشَر, flesh denoted a living being. When the Hebrew wished to express war, battle, he used a similar verb לָחַם. The semantic connection probably is this. The Hebrews, like the other semitic tribes, being nomads had to get their bread or food by force from the farmers who tilled the ground. The Medianites and the Amalekites, for instance, usually overflowed the country before the harvest and carried

away the crops from field (cf. Jud. 6, 1-7). Concerning the word רשף, cf. Expl. Notes, № 36. It is used here in a poetical sense to express the highest degree of heat.

The phrase קטב מרירי has not been interpreted satisfactorily as yet. The G renders καὶ ἐπισθόντος ἀνιάτος; V *morsu marissimo*; OJ מרוחי רוחין בישין Y וכתישו רוחין בישין, SmH קטב מררים, SmT חטים קטב, Rashi קטף-כריתה מרירי. עציאם, and destruction is a demon whose name is מרירי. IE agrees with Rashi in the meaning of קטב, as to מרירי, he says מרירות שבאויר; LUTHER, und jähren Tod; Sd. وحف المر, S مذهب الحزم المر. ROSENMÜLLER, *exitio acerbo*. SCHULTZ, von bitter giftiger Seuche. BUDDE inserts the word דבר between קטב and מרירי and translates: und die Plage giftiger Seuche: But this emendation does not improve the text. The verb קטב is not found in the Bible but exists in other Semitic languages, and means *to cut through, destroy* (cf. Arab. قطب). The word קטב, which occurs in several passages in the OT, is a substantive derived from the verb קטב, and means *an arrow*. It occurs also in Arab. as قطبة sing. and قطب pl. in the sense of *an arrow which reaches its aim*. The Heb. חץ, *arrow* has a similar etymology. The verb חצה or חציץ means *to cut through, or to cut through the middle*. Therefore, something which cuts through the middle is known as חץ or חצי (c.f. Sam. I, 20, 36-37). The word קטב has also the meaning *to cut through* and קטב, would mean, like חץ, *something which pierces through*. In one passage the word קטב stands in parallel to חץ (cf. Ps. 91, 5-6) a case which is quite convincing to assume that קטב means *arrow*. The word מרירי literally means *bitter*, but in the olden times the distinction between *bitterness* and *venom* was very slight, therefore, we can safely translate the word מרירי *venomous*. Hence the expression קטב מרירי means *venomous arrow*. Homer in the Iliad makes use of a similar expression βέλος ἐχέπευκές (II. 1, 51; IV, 129; cf. also Job 6, 4).

The expression וּשְׁן בַּהֲמוֹת (cf. 2 K 17, 25; Ps. 78, 45). The word בַּהֲמָה in Heb. usually denotes cattle or domestic animals. O וּשְׁן חַיֹּת בְּרֵא. The peculiarity in this passage was interpreted in ספרי as follows: מַעֲשֶׂה הָיָה וְהָיוּ הָרְחִלִּים נוֹשְׁכִין וּמְמִיתִין: *It happened once when the sheep used to bite and kill^a*. The G δόντας θηρίων, V *dentes bestiarum*. Sd. follows the MT and translates اسنان البهائم, S سنان البهائم. I may conjecture that the word בַּהֲמָה is a corruption of חַיֹּת when the ה and י are very close to each other they form a מ in some MSS. Read וּשְׁן חַיֹּת instead of וּשְׁן בַּהֲמָה.

^a) It is not impossible that these animals were rabied, (cf. M. J. ROSENAU. *Preventive Medicine and Hygiene* 4th ed. 1925, p. 39).

V. 25. KAMPHAUSEN remarked, G ἀτεκνώσει αὐτούς, *will make them childless*, does not suit the passage (by מִחוּץ, *from without*, the poet most likely refers to the soldiers, in the battle field, but they do not become childless). Therefore he emends the text : תִּאֲכַל, following OY תִּתְכַּל, V *vestabit* ; Sd. منكل; BUDDE, *morden das Schwert*, instead of the MT תִּשְׁכַּל. His remark is very good, but I do not approve of this emendation. I consider תִּשְׁכַּל to be a שפעל form of אכל where the *s* quieces (*cf.* Ass. *úšâkil*, DEL. AHW p. 54^a), which will comply with the OYV. The object of תִּאֲכַל is lacking ; therefore, considering YJGV, I supply it, and read תִּשְׁכַּל־ם for M תִּשְׁכַּל. The passage in O חֲרַגְתָּ must be read as in some MSS חֲרַגְתָּ, *she will kill*, the subject being מוֹת *death*. Y and J expound the second hemistich, the former reading : וּמִן קִטּוּנֵי מִדְּמִיכָהוֹן אֵימָתָא דְּמוֹתָא ; and the latter קִטּוּנֵי מִדְּמִיכָהוֹן אֲגִרִי בְּהוֹן חֲרַגְתָּ מוֹתָא. The G renders : ἐν τῷ τὰμείῳ φόβος. BUDDE translates : *und in der Kammer tötet das Grauen*. I am inclined to believe that the genuine text read as follows : וּמִחֲדָרֵי תִּכְלָם אֵימָה, where the *m* is a remnant of תִּכְלָם. The consonants תִּכַּל were omitted by haplography due to תִּשְׁכַּל. The second stich of this verse is a gloss, as the difference in meter indicates. It was added in order to complete the enumeration of the types of victims.

KAMPHAUSEN believes that Jeremiah and Ezekiel were influenced by this poem in citing the four kinds of evil *i. e.* *pestilence, sword, hunger and captivity* (*cf.* Jer. 15, 2-3 ; 18, 21 ; Ez. 14, 21). Having made a careful study of these passages and vv. 24, 25b of this poem, I conclude that the glossators and not the poet, were familiar with the four kinds of troubles mentioned by Jeremiah and Ezekiel and tried to include them into our poem ; but the style and the metrical form denounce the glossators.

V. 26. The word אֲפִיָּהִם is a ἄπ. λεγ. The etymology of this word is still uncertain, though many suggestions have been offered by various commentators. G renders διασπερῶς αὐτούς OY יָחֹל רְגוּי עֲלֵיהֶן ; J יָחֹל רְגוּי עֲלֵיהֶן ; SmH reads differently אֲפִיָּהִם in one word, or אֲפִי in two words. S احملا agrees with V *Ubinam sunt*. IE suggests three ways of interpretation. (1) Read אֲפִיָּהִם in three words אֲפִי אֵי הֵם, the meaning of which would correspond to the S. (2) אֲפִי or אֲפִי הֵם agrees with the SmH, but the *s* in the M, in the midst of the word, causes some difficulties in this interpretation. (3) אֲפִיצֵם like the G. Rashi explains it as אֲפִיָּה אֹתָם, *i. e.*, אֲשִׁיתֵם פֶּאֶה, *I'll make them a small number*. Rsbm אֲסַלְקֵם מִן הָעוֹלָם, *I would carry them away from the world*. Sd. املك جهنم and explains it by املك جهنم. LUTHER translates :

Wo sind sie? ; ROSENMÜLLER, takes אִמְרָתִי in a conditional sense because it is followed by the word לֹא־ in the next verse. He suggests to derive the word from the Arab. فَأُو which is interpreted by the native lexicographers as الفأوالضرب والشق. It means *striking and splitting* (the head) *with a sword*. Perhaps this is the best suggestion which makes good sense without requiring any changes in the MT. SCHULTENS, GESENIUS, EWALD, KAMP., DILL. and KAUT. want to derive אִמְרָתִי from Arab. فاع Heb. פעה (cf. Is. 42, 14) and Syr. ܦܚܐ, to blow away. This is not probable. SCHULTZ, *Aus den Winkeln will ich sie hervorsuchen*, helps nothing toward the interpretation. EHRLICH emends to אִמְרָתִי. He considers it as the Hip. of עפה, *not to leave any traces behind them* (Ps. 90, 10) and compares it with the Arab. عفي. But this emendation is not possible. LÖHR's reading הם אִמְרָתִי merely increases the difficulties in this passage. BUDDE emends to הם אִמְרָתִי, and takes the expression to be a nominal sentence which he translates as follows: *Aus ist es mit ihnen*, or, *Nun ist es am Ende mit ihnen*. HAURI emends אִמְרָתִי אִמְרָתִי, *möcht' ich sie ausrotten*. All these various emendations are superfluous when we read with ROSENMÜLLER, the Hip. of the Arab. فَأُو which appears in the fourth form in Arab. and means *to smite, destroy*. The translation may be rendered as follows :

I said 'in my wrath' I'll smite them.

The word in *my wrath* was omitted by haplogly with the next word.

VIII

JHVH repents from exterminating His People on account of the enemies' pride. Verses 27, 28, 29 and 30a ; v. 30a is placed before v. 29 ; v. 30b is a gloss to v. 30a, and v. 31 a tertiary gloss to v. 30b.

V. 27. The word כעם is rendered by O as רגוזא ; Y כעסא ; G מִחֲרָקָה and Sd. كيد العدو. It is well translated by BUDDE *den Hohn*, לענא-כעם. O misunderstood this passage and translates אגור by כניש to *gather*. IE called the attention of the OT students to this misinterpretation. According to him, the word אגור must be derived from the same stem as תגרה and he remarks : הַכְּתוּב מְדַבֵּר בְּלִשָּׁן הַשּׁוֹמְעִים, i. e., JHVH is personified. SmH has several variants to this verse. The SmH reads לוֹ לֹא instead of M לוֹ לֹא, for M אִיב, and, finally, צִרְיִנו for M צִרְיִנו. All these variations need not be considered as genuine. BUDDE reads with the SmH אִיב, and emends לוֹ לֹא to יִנְכְּרוּ. The pronominal suffix added to יִנְכְּרוּ intends to express the object of the verb נכר which is lacking from the

present text. Sd. inserts the word **זֶה** after **יָכַר** as an object of the verb. The meter of this hemistich exhibits only two beats instead of the regular meter, *i. e.*, three beats. I suggest to supply the word **פְּעָלִי**, *my deed*, which gives us an additional beat in order to restore the regularity of the meter. It is possible that this word was omitted from the genuine text by haplography due to **פָּעַל** in the following verse.

V. 28. The problem as to who is speaking, and about whom, the words are spoken in v. 28-32a has very much bothered the scholars of the OT. The Jewish commentators, IE, Sd., Rashi, Rsbm, etc., maintain that these verses refer to the enemies of Israel, which is correct, but the non-Jewish exegetes, KAMP., STEU., BERTH., LÖHR, MARTI, DRIVER, and others, believe that vv. 29-32a (some include 28) are not the words of JHVH but some unwarranted interpolations of the author, and therefore they eliminate them from the text. However, the reference is clear. In v. 28 JHVH is still speaking. The word hints at the Babylonians who did not consider the catastrophe of the people of JHVH as a punishment inflicted by Him, but attributed their victory to their own might (*cf.* v. 27). JHVH calls them *devoid of counsel*, *i. e.*, *foolish* and *people of no comprehension*, because they do not understand His deeds. V. 30a gives further explanation for v. 28. It states a fact which any intelligent person ought to understand, *i. e.*, how could one of the enemy chase one thousand of JHVH's adherers and how could two drive away ten thousand? If the enemy had sense enough they would learn how such a calamity was possible. V. 30b is a gloss to v. 30a. This could take place only when JHVH, the Rock of Israel, sold them. V. 31 is a tertiary gloss used as a protest against the idea expressed in v. 30b. The G rendering of **בִּי**, **ᾗ**, *because*, is used at the beginning of this verse for the sake of emphasis. The word **בִּי** could refer only to the enemies, and not to Israel. L. DE DIEU (*Critica Sacra*, Amsterdam, 1693, p. 47) translates *gens stulta consiliis*, considering the meaning of **אֲבָר** in this passage like the Eth. **አድካ**: *stultus fuit*, to be foolish. The translation of **י** **אֲבָרִי עֵצָן בִּישָׁן אֲנֹן** and **י** **מֵאֲבָרֵן עֵמִין טָבֵן אֲנֹן** have no clear reference (*cf.* KAMP. *ad. loc.*). **V** *absque consiliis est*, and EHR. *sie sind ein dummes Volk*. The expression **אֲבָר עֵצָת** does not mean *lost in counsel*, but *devoid of counsel*; this term is used to designate an ignorant person, who does not know to manage his own affairs. The vocalization of **אֲבָר** for **אֲבָר** is due to its being in const. state with **עֵצָת** (*cf.* Ew. §213^{bc}). The SmH **עֵצָתָם** or **עֵצָתֵיהֶם**, probably is a corruption of the MT **עֵצָת הֵם**.

The word פלילים meaning *judges*, is based on an erroneous etymology. It must not be derived from Arab. فلي, *to look for, to investigate*, (tert. inf.) but from فل, *to notch* (cf. Arm. ֆան) which is rendered by the native lexicographers by تلم, *to notch, to make a breach in the wall*. In Heb. the same stem פלל may have developed a meaning *to damage*. In Arab. فليل *a notch, a breach* (pl. فلول or افلال) appears in Heb. in the form פליל (cf. GK § 84a^o) meaning *damage*. Thus the passage in Ex. 21, 22, וכי ינצו אנשים ונגפו וגו' ולא יהיה אסון ונתן בפלילים, *If two men strive together, etc., but no serious accident happened, it shall be paid* (lit. given, and read ינתן for ינתן, because the subject is lacking) *according to the damages*. The phrase ענש יענש כאשר ישיית עליו בעל האשה ונתן בפלילים is an explanative gloss to ונתן בפלילים. The Arab. stem فل means also *to rout an army*, as فل الجيش means *he defeated the army*. The Lexicon محيط المحيط interprets وفل القوم كسرهم وهزمهم *he defeated* (lit. broke) *and put them to flight* (cf. op. cit. p. 1632). The لسان العرب says as follows: قوم فل منهزمون *fleeing* (cf. Vol. 14, p. 46). Thus the verse may be interpreted as follows:

Because our Rock is not like their image

And indeed our enemies have been defeated.

I read, with O, הוּ פלילים. Besides the meter shows that a word is missing from this hemistich. For the ו having a meaning *and, indeed* cf. FÜRST's Lex. p. 578^a and GB 189^b. I am inclined to believe that this verse was incorporated in the text after the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus in 539 B. C. in order to prove that JHVH had retaliated against the Babylonians for their pride.

V. 29. When the conditional particle לו is followed by the perfect it usually indicates that the wish has not been fulfilled. Thus לו חכמו means *would that they had been wise* (cf. E. § 258^a; GK § 106^p and 159^e). The SmH reads ולא חכמו so also G οὐκ ἐφρόνησαν, but the M form is more forcible. In some G texts we find ταῦτα πάντα for M וזאת. I prefer to read with O בזאת which means *through this or by this*. YJ מסתכלין באוריתה is an unwarranted interpretation; that of Rashi and IE is better. The latter says: כי כן יעשה השם בעבור עונם, *because JHVH will do so on account of their sins, i. e., He will punish the enemies for their own sins just as He has done to Israel*. The word הבין means here *to foresee* (for similar meaning cf. Ps. 139, 2; Prov. 23, 1; Dan. 9, 24; 10, 1). Read, with the SmH, ויבינו; G translates לאחרייתם: εἰς τὸ ἐπιστάντα χροσόν, Sd. يفتنون بها عاقبتهم. The Heb. אחריית means *what is in the back, i. e., the*

future, while קדמון from קדם, *that which is in the front, i. e., the past*. אחרית in this passage has a special signification, *i. e., that which is stored for the enemies* (cf. v. 24). BUDDE's addition at the end of this verse, לאמר, is not necessary.

IX

The punishment of the enemies consists of poisonous wine which is preserved by JHVH for the day of their fall. Verses 32a, 32b, 33, 34 and 35 ; v. 32a β is a gloss to v. 32a α , and v. 32b β is a gloss to v. 32b α . Verse 36 is transposed to stanza XII.

V. 32. This verse does not refer to the ill deeds of Israel as Y, J, עובדיהון מדמין לעובדי עמא וסדום and other modern critics believe. כי at the beginning of this verse is superfluous. Sd. supplies *انهم يماقبون* for they will be punished. I consider only v. a α and v. b α as genuine hemistichs and regard the remainder as glosses (cf. IE משדמת כפול וכן אשכלת מררת). V. a β is a gloss to Sodom. The association of Sodom and Gemorrah in the minds of the people is so great that the glossator deemed it necessary to add *ומשדמת עמרה* and *from the fields of Gemorrah*. The interpretation of the G *αὐτὸς ἀνὰ τὸν ὄρεα* as well as that of Sd. *من دوالي عمره* depart from the RT. O כעס עמרה מההתן is not clear as to what or to whom it refers. The rendering of V *suburbanis* is good. Since this is merely a gloss, it is not necessary to harmonize it with the meter. The SmH reads *ענביהם* defective. The *dageš* in *ענבי* is a *dageš forte dirimens* (cf. GK § 20^b). The Heb. ראש or רוש *poison* may be connected with the Arabic *أثار*, to be roused, (anger) *أثار*, anger, wrath (cf. Heb. חמה anger and poison). In order to bring out the harmony of parallelism I suggest to read *ענבינו* last, which will make the expression more forcible. The S reads *كلهم صنفه*. The SmH reads *אשכלי* for the M *אשכלת*. The G renders *βότρυς πικρὰ ἀνὰ τὸν ὄρεα*. Sd. *وعناقيدهم مره لهم*. V. b β is also a gloss and must be appended to *ענבינו*. *מררת* *למו* is a relative clause. This expression means *clusters containing bitterness, (i. e. poison)*. Read *מִרְרָה* bitterness instead of *מִרְרָה* bitter.

V. 33. The M *חמת תנינים יינם* without the comparative כ used by OYJ is more expressive. Perhaps it is of some interest to note here that OJY render יין by כס, Heb. כוס a glass. The Heb. חמה rage means also poison. According to some physiologists anger is caused by the secretion of the adrenal glands which stimulates the heart to a faster blood circulation. This process develops a considerable amount of energy (heat)

derived. BUDDE suggests to read באוצרת לבי instead of the M באוצרתי. I do not find any necessity for this emendation. The meter is perfectly clear, besides a Hebrew would not express himself that way.

V. 35. This verse suffered some corruption. The SmH reads ליום instead of the M לי, the G also translates ἐν ἡμέρᾳ a case which they would not have rendered so if the genuine text read לי. Moreover the word עת in the second hemistich shows that in the first hemistich existed the word ליום and this completes the parallelism. Upon this basis we are justified in emending the RT. The error may have happened through carelessness on the part of the scribe. Perhaps when he began to write ליום he did not finish it, or it is possible that לי may have stood for an abbreviation of the word ליום (cf. Perles, *Analekten*, p. 24). The word שְׁלֵם *requital* is a noun and the form may be treated like קָמַר and דָּבַר (cf. IE and Rsbm). The G reads ἀταπαλώσας; O אני אשלם and V *et ego retribuam* using a verbal form instead. Sd. translates ولي الانتقام والتوفيه *I have the vengeance and the requital*. O thinks that the verse refers to Israel and therefore he renders v. aβ בעירן דינלון מארעהון; Y however understands it differently טעם לעת כמו וגם רשע, J דתמוט רגליון לגלותא, IE לעירן דתמוט רגליון דצדיקיא, Rsbm לעת תמוט רגלם של האומות. The expression of the M ארי קריב יומא, כי קרוב יום, is rendered by G ἀρι κρύβεται ἡ βύρα and Y ארי קריב יומא. IE אר יהשבו שהנקמה בזרעם, Sd. انه ما اقرب يوم. ROSENMÜLLER explains אד from *vapor, cloud*, but Professor HAUPT's etymology of אד *flood* is better (cf. SBOT Pro. 1, 26), for a flood was considered the greatest calamity to civilization. The word וחש is a perfect tense with ו conversive. G renders ἀλὰ παρσσετις, V *et adesse festinant Tempora*, O ומבע וממור, Sd. واسرع المعدات. Read with EFROS רעתיר ליתון, Y פורענות עלייתון, Sd. وقال المدد. Read with EFROS and דת a *time of decree* instead of the M עתרת, (cf. JAOS, 40, 390).

X

JHVH hears the enemies ridiculing Him to His true worshippers; therefore He interferes and answers. Verses 37, 38 and 39; v. 39c is a gloss to v. 39b.

V. 37. The reference as to who is now speaking has troubled many scholars. The G reads ἀλλ' εἶπεν Κύριος and continues ἐφ' οἷς ἐπεποίθεισαν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς; V *Ubi sunt dei eorum in quibus habebant feduciam*. LUTHER, und man wird sagen... Rashi, ROSENMÜLLER, DILL., BUDDE, and others follow the G reading, while the SmH has ואמר referring to the enemies of Israel; Y עתידין אומיא מימר; J ויאמר סנאה; IE האויב; Sd. وقال المدد;

Rsbm ויאמרו האומות ידנו רמה, אי אלהינו, לכן אנקם מהם להתקדש שמי שהם מחללים hold the same view. I read therefore with the SmH אמרו and prefix כי which was omitted by haplography because the three preceding verses begin with this very word. This verse is really a continuation of JHVH's speech, as Rsbm had noted. JHVH speaks : because they said where is their God etc. JHVH replies sharply : *Lo! Verily, I am JHVH and there is no other God with me.* The word אי is very short to form one beat between two multisyllabic words ; for metrical purposes it would be better if we adapt the SmH reading איה instead of the M אי. Since בו is enclitic there remain only two beats in the second hemistich. In order to restore the meter I suggest to prefix the article ה before צור for emphasis and insert המה between הצור and הפסור. The form חסיו with the י is poetical and more original than the prosaic חסו.

V. 38. The SmH, O, G and others having in mind the idols read the pl. יהיו, יקומו, ישתו, יאכלו, while Y reads the sing. ויפרק. מקריבין קדמוי ; ויפרק. and in the second hemistich uses the third person pl. יתהון ; יתהון ; יקום and יעורכם. According to IE the reason for the use of the pl. instead of the sing., since the subject goes back to צור in the preceding verse, is העלות כי העלות כדברי האויבים שחשבו כי העלות (cf. EHRlich ad loc.). Sd. holding the same view as IE translates in the plural and begins with الذين كانوا. However, I prefer to read the sing. for I believe that the genuine text was also in the singular and the corruptions in the MT may be explained as follows : The word יאכלו was יאכל ; the ו at the end of this word was displaced from the beginning of M ישתו, where the SmH has וישתו. The final ו in M ישתו is a dittography of one of the י of the following word יין. The SmH reads זבחייהם instead of M זבחימו, but the former is prosaic while the latter is a poetic form. Further, the SmH has נסכם for M נסיכם ; I believe the first is more correct. The י in the MT however is a transposed ו. By analogy to זבחימו the text probably read נסכמו. Thus the genuine stich may have been as follows: אשר הלב זבחימו יאכל יקומו. In the second stich I read with Y יקום instead of M יקומו. The word יעורכם is a corruption of יעורמו. The כ was inserted unconsciously by the scribe due to the influence of the כ in נסכמו in the previous verse. In this hemistich there are only two beats, but the word עתה in the following verse is superfluous and makes that hemistich too long; besides Y has יקום בען, S لمصمى and Sd. يقوم والان ; therefore I suggest to transpose עתה from v. 39aα to v. 38bα and read

יקום עתה ויעזרמו. The SmH has ויהי instead of the M יהי probably the text was ויהי. Read עלימו for M עליכם (cf. v. 23. In the Ps. 5, 12 ; 55, 16 ; 64, 9 and in Job is a very common poetic expression). This word was corrupted in order to bring harmony with the wrong reading יעורכם in the preceding hemistich. The word סתרה is not a feminine form of סתר as KAMP. believes but it is the accusative case of סתר *shelter* as לילה is acc. of ליל, and must be interpreted with Y כמנא as a *shelter*. Similarly the word בתה in Is. 5, 6 is the acc. case of בת *desolation* (cf. Arab. بَتَّ to cut, destroy) and must be rendered as a *desert*, as a *desolation*. KAMP.'s emendation therefore is not urgent. For the sake of harmony between the two parts of this stich I transpose עלימו to the end of the verse and read ויהי סתרה עלימו *Let Him be like a shelter over them*.

V. 39. According to Rashi JHVH addresses Israel saying : הבינו הקב"ה אומר לאומות העולם : מן הפרענות שהבאתי עליכם אתם אמרתם אי אלהימו הלא עתה יכולים לראות בהנקמי בכם לעיניכם. The reduplication of the word אני was used merely for emphasis. Reduplication of this sort is very common in Deutero-Isaiah. In Syriac this literary device is often employed for sake of emphasis. J renders אני אני אנה הוא דהווי והוית ואנא הוא דעתיד למהוי by אני אני. The G however ἰδετε ἰδετε ὁδὸν ὡς ἐμὲ ראו. Sd. انظرو الان اننى هو وحدى. See now that I am alone. The word עמדי with me (lit. at my place, stand from עמד; cf. BROCK. VGr 2, 414 and Arab. عندى) is rendered by OS בר מני; YJ ; בר מני; G אחרון מני; V praeter me; Sd. مى is better. EHRlich, and others *ausser mir*; BUDDE, *neben mir*. The prophet intended to protest by this expression against the dualistic principle. The Arch-Angel Guardianship theory suggested by some critics in their reading of בני אל (cf. v. 8) may be disproved by this statement. Instead of הוא I read יה shortening for יהוה (cf. v. 4). Verse 39c was probably a marginal gloss quoted from Is. 43, 13 where the unity of JHVH was emphasized as in this passage.

XI

The end of the speech. JHVH's revenge upon the enemies of His worshippers. Verses 40, 41, and 42 ; v. 42aβ is interchanged with 42bα.

V. 40. O departs from the M and reads ארי אתקנית בשמיא בית כי בחרון אפי אשא ידי Rashi, ומלת אשא כדרך בן אדם להבין את השומעים. שכתבי אל. The conjunction כי here does not mean *if* (EHRlich and

others) but *when*. The word שמים *heavens* is used in a figurative sense and designates *high place*. JHVH lifts up His hand *high* not to swear (cf. O, Y, J, Sd. and others) but to *strike* the enemy heavily with it, as is described in the following verses. Thus, EHRlich's conjecture that the genuine text read עמים instead of שמים, is not necessary. Besides the reason for the emendation is not convincing. It is true that JHVH dwells in the Heaven but the phrase must not be understood literally. The G has an additional hemistich καὶ ὁμοῦμαι τῇδε δεξιάν μου between the first and the second hemistich of the MT. This is merely an explanatory gloss for the action of lifting up the hand to the heavens. BUDDÉ with LOHR leaves out the word אמרתי considering it as a gloss, but I keep it and emend it to ואמרו *and they will say, i. e., they will realize*, referring to the enemies, that I live forever. The ת was inserted in order to conform it with the first person in the preceding hemistich אשא, and the ו was shortened to י. The verse may be rendered as follows :

*When to heaven my hand I'll raise
they'll say that I live forever.*

The power of JHVH did not change. JHVH unlike Ahuramazda and there is no power or divinity which can deprive Him of His might. When JHVH smites the foes they will feel the strength of His hand.

V. 41. ROSENmÜLLER's reading *Nisi*=כִּי־אם for the M אם does not improve the text. O in his rendering אם חרבך מסוף שמיא diverges very much from the MT. The translation of Y אין שנינא היא ברק חרבי and J אם אשני בברקא חרבי is more exact. G ὁ αὐτὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἔρχεται ὡς ἀστὴρ ; V Si acuerto ut fulgur gladium meum ; Sd. لا ستن يريق سيفي ; Rashi את להב חרבי ; אם אשן את להב חרבי ; למען היות לה ברק ; KAMP., KNOB., DILL., SCHULTZ and others read, *Wenn ich meines Schwertes Blitz geschärft* ; DRIVER, *The glittering of my sword* ; BUDDÉ's rendering *Schwertes Klinge* is the best. The word ברק is a synonym to להב *a blade*. להב may have meant *flaming, shining* from להב *to flame*, because the blade glitters when it is exposed to the rays of the sun. In the passage Nah. 3, 3 the word ברק is in a parallel position with להב *blade*. O reads the second hemistich ותתקף בדינא ירי, so the others translate also. LUTHER, *meine Hand zur Strafe greifen* is better than KAMP., KNOB., SCHULTZ, DILL. and others *Gericht*. GUNKEL and HAURI read אשפה *quiver* for משפט, BUDDÉ changes the reading somewhat to בני אשפה *arrows*. This type of emendation is not possible. The word

שבט *Rod of punishment* (cf. Is. 10, 5 ; Job 9, 34 ; 21, 9 ; Lam. 3, 1) was corrupted into במשפט. The meter in v. b β requires an additional beat. With Y אשלם להן גמולתן and on the basis of parallel expressions in Joel 4, 4 and Ps. 137, 8 we can safely insert here the word גמול. The words צר ומשנא are synonyms and the shade in meaning between them is so slight that it cannot be discerned. However, by examining a great many passages in which these words occur, I observed that the word משנא is used to a great extent for an *open foe, bold one*, while צר is used for a *hidden or submissive enemy*. In this verse the term משנא denotes the *heathen*, who are open foes, while צר indicates the *opponents of the nationalists*.

V. 42. This verse describes a bloody battle in which JHVH makes His arrows drunk with the blood of the enemy. The original order of the hemistichs, in this verse must have been disturbed as ROSENMÜLLER has noted before me. The sequence of the verses may be restored as follows : v. a α , v. b α and v. a β , v. b α . I suggest to read instead of מרם in v. a α מרב. The corruption of מרב to מרם was due to the proximity of the former to the latter. The words הלל and שביה must be understood collectively. Rashi believes that הלל and שביה refer to those of Israel whom the enemy had slain and taken captive ; therefore, he says : זאת להם מעון דם חללי ישראל ; ושביה ששבו מהם. BUDDÉ with EHRLICH emends שבור instead of שביה and translates *Verletzten*, but in Hebrew the word שבור could mean only *broken* and not *wounded*. IE however offers very good explanation for שביה, saying : ומעם שביה הפצועים, *the word שביה refers to the wounded*. This is true because a very large percentage of the prisoners were mercilessly tortured and their bodies were mutilated (cf. SBOT, Notes on Ez., p. 140, l. 25 and p. 141). The last hemistich is rendered by O לאעדאה כתרין ; G ὁπλῶν ἀφαιρέσας ; Y מן רישי גבוריתון ופולמרכיתון ; V nudati inimicorum capitis ; Sd. من رؤس فراعہ الاعداء ; S سلبهم من رؤسهم. Rashi interprets פרעות by פרצות *invasions* and says : כי כשהקב"ה נפרע מן האומות פוקד : מפשע תחלת פרצות האויב, עליהם עונם ועונות אבותיהם מראשית פרצה שפרצו בישראל. Rsbm understands פרעה to be like סתירה ופריעה. LUTHER translates *über dem entbosten Haupt des Feindes*. KAMP., DILL., and others *vom Haupte der Anführer des Feindes*. BUDDÉ has, *Führer des Feindes*. The Arab. فرع *to have abundant and long hair* and at the same time we have the expression فرع القوم which means *the chief of a tribe*. It may have been a custom when the leaders wore long hair in order to be distinguished from the common people.

XII

CONCLUSION. — The poet comforts his coreligionists and assures them of their near redemption and the restoration of their Homeland. Verses 36, 43 and one restored stich on the basis of the Septuagint and the Targ. Yerushalmi.

V. 36. This verse is not in its proper place in the text, because it interrupts the speech of JHVH which has not yet been finished. It is preferable, however, to transpose this verse to the last stanza in the poem where the prophet expresses his final comfort to his hearers.

ROSENMÜLLER translates כִּי by *attamen*, while O uses אֲרִי; Y and J אָרוֹם. The Heb. stem דִּין means *to pronounce a sentence* either for good or for evil. A great many exegetes misunderstood the meaning of the word דִּין *he will judge*, in this passage and referred it to the punishments that JHVH will inflict upon Israel, Rashi, for instance, says: כְּשִׁישְׁפֹּט אוֹתוֹ דִּין *when He will sentence him for troubles*. But JHVH had already wrecked His people and they are in need of comfort not punishment. O אָרוֹם דָּאִין הוּא ה' דִּינִיחוֹן דַּעְמָא בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל and Y אָרוֹם דָּאִין הוּא ה' דִּינִיחוֹן דַּעְמָא do not give us a clear idea as to what they mean by דִּין. The interpretation of J אָרוֹם דָּאִין מִימְרָא דַּה' בְּרַחְמוֹי דִּינָא דַּעְמִיָּה יִשְׂרָאֵל is clearer. IE explains אָרוֹם דָּאִין מִימְרָא דַּה' בְּרַחְמוֹי דִּינָא דַּעְמִיָּה יִשְׂרָאֵל as *He will avenge His people from them, i. e., from the enemies*. Rsbm אָז יִהְיֶה הַנֶּקֶם וְתִשְׁלֹמִין *where דִּין means a revenge*. He will avenge His people from them, *i. e., from the enemies*. This is a very appropriate meaning for this passage. For דִּין or מִשְׁפָּט in the sense of *vengeance*, cf. Ps. 7, 9; 43, 1; 53, 4; 68, 6; 140, 13. G translates literally ὁ δὲ κύριος ἐκδικεῖ *Kúrios*; Sd. *إِذْ يَحْكُمُ اللَّهُ لِعِبَادِهِ*; ROSENMÜLLER *vindicabit populum suum*. KAMP., KEIL, SCHULTZ and others render well by *Recht verschaffen*. In English the word *avenge* is a proper interpretation of דִּין in this verse, for it stands in parallel position with word יִתְנַחֵם in the second hemistich. The translation of וְפָרַעְנוֹת עַבְדָּוָהּ צָדִיקָא יִתְפָּרַע and J וְעַל יִתְנַחֵם וְפָרַעְנוֹת עַבְדָּוָהּ צָדִיקָא יִתְפָּרַע given by O *ועל עבדיו יתנחם* is somewhat remote from the original text. The G renders παρακαλεῖσθαι for יִתְנַחֵם; V *miserebitur*; S *سَحَبَ سَحَابًا*; Sd. *وعن عبيده يصفح* and *He will forgive his servants*. KAMP., SCHULTZ and others read: *Und über seine Knechte wird er Reue fühlen*. EHRLICH translates: *Und rächt sich für seine Diener*, considering יִתְנַחֵם as *gutturale Aussprache von יתנקם*. This assumption, however, is not impossible, but BUDDE's interpretation *sich erbarmen* is better and more suitable. In order to restore the regularity of the meter in this hemistich I suggest to read עָלִי instead of the M *על*. In the second hemistich as in

ing to save and to be saved. In the Koran, Sura III, Joseph, speaking of the crops, tells Pharoh **وَفِيهِ يَمْعُرُونَ** *they will be saved by it*. The Arab. Lexicon **محيط المحيط** explain the word **يَمْعُرُونَ** by **المنجاء وهو من المنجاء** *they will be delivered*. The word **عصرة** means *a refuge, a safety place*. The expression **تَعَصَّرَ** is explained by **التجأ** *sought refuge*. Hence the word **עצור** may assume a meaning *guardian, protector, savior and helper*. The stem **עזב** *to let, to loosen*, means also *to help* (cf. the following passages where the word **עזב** has a similar meaning, Ex. 23, 5 and 2 K 14, 26). To the latter passage an explanatory gloss **עוזר לישראל** *there is no helper to Israel*, was added in order to explain **עוזב**. The word **אָפֶס** must be vocalized with KLOST. **אָפֶס** (cf. Gn 47, 15-16; Is. 16, 4; 29, 20; Ps. 77, 9). The form **עצור** and **עוזב** should not be understood as past participles in meaning but active like **עצום** *numerous*, **ערום** *sly* (cf. GK 84a^m) and Arab. **غفور** *Pardoner*. Thus the expression **ואפס עצור ועוזב** may be rendered in English as follows: *And there remaineth no protector nor helper*. A similar expression to **עצור ועוזב** is **ער וענה**, Mal. 2, 12, which also may be interpreted without any serious emendations. The word **ער** must be derived from a stem **עור**, Arab. **غور** *to aid, to succour*. The form **ער** is like **נר** from **נור** and **נר** from **נור** and means *a helper*. The word **ענה** which I vocalize **עָנָה** like **שָׁנָה** may be considered as a transposed form **עני** or **ענו** for Arab. **عون** *help*. Later a fem. form **ענוה** *help* which was mixed with **ענוה** *meekness, modesty*. The passage in Ps. 18, 36 shows clearly that **ענוה** stands in parallel position with **ימין** *right hand*. The passage reads as follows: **ימינך תסעדני** *Thy right hand supports me* and **וענותך תרבני** *and Thy help (not modesty) makes me great*. In a similar passage 2 S. 22, 36 is written defective and is parallel to **ישעך**. Thus **ער וענה** may be rendered by *helper and help*.

V. 43. The meaning of the verb **הרגינו** as it is rendered by **O** **שבחו** *praise*; **עממיא עמיה**; **Y** **עממיא עמיה** with an additional hemistich not found in the **M** **שבחו יתה עמיה דבית ישראל**; **J** **שבחו יתה עמיה בית ישראל**; **S** **שבחו אומיא עמיה בית ישראל**; **IE** **إمدحو يا أيها الأمم شعبه**; **Sd.** **إمدحو يا أيها الأمم شعبه**; **Rsmb** **ואותו הזמן ישבחו האומות את ישראל**; **Rosenmüller**, *Ovate popule et populus ejus*; **Kamp.** and **Schultz**, *Preist, ihr Nationen, sein Volk* in a sense of praise either to **JHVH** or to **Israel** is impossible. The **G** **εὐφρανθητε, ἔθνη, μετὰ τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ** which is preceded by a whole stich reading as follows: **εὐφρανθητε, οὐρανοὶ ἄμα αὐτῷ καὶ ἡ γῆ μετὰ τὸν λαόν σου** **Θεοῦ** is followed by

another hemistich: καὶ ἐνισχυσάτωσαν αὐτῷ πάντες ἄγγελου Θεοῦ not found in the MT; LUTHER, *Jauchzet alle die ihr sein Volk seit*; KEIL, *Jubelt Nationen über sein Volk*; KNOB., *Jubelt, ihr Volker, sein Volk*, is superior to all interpretation. BUDDE and others with EHRLICH read בְּנוֹיִם and translate: *Jauchzt unter den Heiden, ihr sein Volk*. But a zealous prophet like ours would be horrified to tell his coreligionists to rejoice among the nations. Being in exile how could the people rejoice, furthermore should a faithful person of JHVH's servants be satisfied among the heathen there would be no ground, or at least it would appear senseless on the part of the prophet to make a statement full of hope concerning the Homeland of His people. The verb הִרְנִין in this passage as in Ps. 65, 9 and Job. 29, 13 means *to gladden* and it requires an object. The word עַמּוֹ in this hemistich was correctly regarded by KNOB., as acc. object of the verb הִרְנִין and גּוֹיִם as subject. The nations mentioned here are not those of v. 21 the enemies of Israel but the Persian Empire under the leadership of Cyrus. It was the young conqueror, indeed, who gladdened the adherers of JHVH by his edict concerning the restoration of their Homeland. It would be ridiculous to assume that the prophet addressed by גּוֹיִם the oppressors of the servants of JHVH and asked them to praise either JHVH or His People. HAURI's reading הִרְנִינוּ גּוֹיִם לְשִׁמּוֹ הִרְנִינוּ שָׁמַיִם לֵיהֶם is not probable. The first hemistich of the MT need not be changed. The second hemistich corresponding to the first is lacking. Using the Septuagint εὐφράνθητε, οὐρανοί, ἅμα αὐτῷ and at the same time paying attention to parallel passages (Is. 44, 23; 49, 13) in Deutero-Isaiah, a contemporary with our prophet, I supply a hemistich reading as follows: וְרִנּוּ שָׁמַיִם יְהוָה (for יְהוָה used together with the verb רִנָּן cf. Is. 52, 9, 8) and translate: *Rejoice ye, O Heavens, with them*. That a hemistich of this kind is missing may be shown by the additional hemistichs mentioned above by Y and G. The second part of the following stich disappeared and therefore we must supply it. It is logical to assume that the prophet would not use the word צָרִי again in this stich after he had used it a couple verses before, therefore, I venture to read קָמָיו (cf. Ps. 15, 7; 74, 23) which may have been displaced under the influence of v. 47bα. By קָמָיו the poet meant to designate the opponents of the Nationalists, the Reformers and the Assimilators. Considering the hemistich in Y וּבְחֻבּוֹי עָמִיָּה לִקְיָה אֶרְעָא and with the aid of the passage in Ez. 39, 23 and Jer. 9, 11 I restore the hemistich as follows: כִּי כְעֹנֶם אֲבָדָה הָאָרֶץ *Through their sins was the land destroyed*. This expresses the view that the faithful worshippers main-

tained that they suffered from the wrath of JHVH on account of the wicked people in their nation. The final stich is constituted of v. 43aβ and v. 43bβ. Read וְרָם instead of **M** בִּי דָם. **O** and **Y** render דָם by פורענותא and עלבון. The **G** has ὅτι τὸ αὔμα τῶν υἱῶν αὐτοῦ for דָם עבדיו. In the last hemistich the SmH reads אַדְמַת עַמּוֹ, **G** καὶ ἐκκαθαρίσει Κύριος τὴν γῆν τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ and **V** *et propitius erit terrae populi sui*. The **OY** however have עַל אֶרֶץ וְעַל עַמּוּהָ and **J** עַל אֶרֶץ אֶרֶץ וְעַמּוּהָ. IE ישראל יַעֲשׂוּ וַיִּפְּיִים אֶדְמַתּוֹ וְעַמּוֹ עַל הַצָּרוֹת שֶׁעָבְרוּ, Rashi נִקְמָה בְּגוֹיִם וְהֵם יִכְפְּרוּ עַל אֲשֵׁי וְגו., עליהם וַיַּעֲשֶׂה לָהֶם הָאוֹיֵב. מַה הָיָא אֶדְמַתּוֹ עַמּוֹ ? כְּשֶׁעָמּוּ מִתְנַחֲמִים אֶרְצוֹ מִתְנַחֲמִת. The Midrash explain אֶדְמַתּוֹ עַמּוֹ as תְּכַפֵּר בְּעַד עַמּוֹ. For the sake of coordination in tense I read וַיִּכְפֹּר for **M** וְכִפֵּר. I retain the construction אֶדְמַתּוֹ עַמּוֹ and consider the suffix ו in אֶדְמַתּוֹ not as a suffix of the third person but the old genetive form like חֵיתוֹ אֶרֶץ, בְּנוֹ צֶפֶר etc. (*cf.* GK § 90a).

יְהוָה עֲנֵבִי רֹאשׁ עֲנֵבְמוֹ׃ ^{1 3 2}	ix 32 מִגֶּפֶן סָדֵם יִגְמֵ יְהוָה
יְהוָה רֹאשׁ פְּתִימִים אֲכֹר׃	33 חֲמַת תְּנִינִים יִיגֵם מִיְּהוָה
יְהוָה חֲתוּם בְּאוֹצְרֵי	34 הֲלֹא־הוּא כֶּמֶס עֲמָדִי
לַעֲתַת תְּמוּט רְגֵלָם	35 לִי־וְסֵם נֶקֶם וְשֹׁלֵם
וְחֵשׁ וְעַת דּוֹת לְמוֹ	כִּי־קָרֹב יוֹם אִידֵם
יְהוָה צוֹר יִחְמֵהּ חֲסִידָיו׃	x (c) 37 [כִּי] אֲמָרוּ אֵלֶּהָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
יְהוָה יֵשֶׁת׃ יִינֶם כְּמִי׃ ^{3 5 14 21}	38 אֲשֶׁר־חֲלַב זִבְחֵינוּ יֹאכֵל׃
יְהוָה סִתְּרָה עָלֵינוּ׃	יָקוֹם עֵתָה וְיַעֲזֹר־מִיְּהוָה
וְאֵין אֱלֹהִים עֲמָדִי	39 רְאוּ כִּי־אֲנִי אֲנִי־יְהוָה
מִהֲצַתִּי וְאֲנִי אֲרַפָּא׃	אֲנִי אֲמִית וְאֵחִיהָ
וְאֲמַרְיָה חֵי־אֲנֹכִי לְעוֹלָם׃	xi 40 כִּי־אֲשָׁא אֶל־שָׁמַיִם יְדֵי
וְתִאֲחַז בִּשְׂבִיטֵי יְדֵי	41 אֶם־שְׁנוֹתַי בִּרְקַח חֲרָבִי
וְלִמְשֹׁנָאִי יִגְמֹלֵ אֱשֶׁלָם	אֲשִׁיב נֶקֶם לְצָרִי
[מִי־רַבִּי חָלַל וְשִׁבִּיתָה]	42 אֲשִׁכִּיר חֲצִי מִדָּם
מִרֹאשׁ פְּרַעוֹת אוֹיֵב׃	[וְחֲרָבִי תֹאכַל בָּשָׂר]
וְעָלִי עֲבָדָיו יִתְנַחֵם	xii 36 כִּי־יִדְּיוּ יְהוָה עָמוֹ
וְאֶפֶס עֲצוֹר וְעִזּוֹב׃	כִּי־יִרְאֶה כִּי־אֹזֶלֶת יָד
וְרֵנוֹ שָׁמַיִם יַחֲדוּ׃	43aα חֲרָנִינוּ גּוֹיִם עָמוֹ
כִּי־בַעֲוֹנָם אֲבָדָה הָאָרֶץ׃	43bα נֶקֶם יֵשִׁיב לִיקְמֵנוּ
וְיִי־כַפֵּר אֲדַמְתּוּ עָמוֹ׃	43aβ כִּי־דָם עֲבָדָיו יָקוֹם
	43bβ

(v) אֲשֶׁכֶּלֶת מִנְרֹזֹת לְמוֹ 30 (μ) וּמִשְׁדָּמִית עֲמִירָה
 39 (o) וְאֵין מִי־יָדִי מִצִּיל



v 5 שְׁחַתְלוּ [] בְּנוֹ מוֹמֵם
 דֹּר עֶקֶשׁ וּפְתַלְתַּל.
 17 יִזְבְּחוּ לִשְׁדִּים לֹא־אֵל
 אֱלֹהִים לֹא יֵדְעוּם
 חֲדָשִׁים מִקְרִיב בָּאוּ
 לֹא שְׁעָרוֹם אֲבִית־הָם:
 6 הִלִּיתוּהָ תִגְמַל יְכִי־זֹאת
 עַם־נָבֵל וְלֹא חֲכָם:
 18 יְהִי־צוֹר יִלְדֵךְ תִּשִּׁי
 וְתִשְׁכַּח יְהִי־אֵל מִתִּלְדִּיךְ:
 וְתִשְׁכַּח יְהִי־אֵל מִתִּלְדִּיךְ:

vi (a) B 19 וִירָא יְהוָה וַיִּנְאֲצֵם:
 <ו> יִכְעַס בְּנוֹ וּבְנֵיתוֹ:
 20 אִסְתִּירָה פְנֵי מַה־
 <אֲרָאָהֶם> מִתְּ אַחֲרֵיתָם
 כִּי־דֹר תִּהְפֹּכֶת הִמָּה
 21 הֵם קִנְאוּנִי בְּלֹא־אֵל
 בָּנִים לֹא אִמְנִי־בָם:
 כַּעֲסוּנִי בְּהַבְלִיתָם
 וְאֲנִי אִקְנִיאֵם בְּלֹא־עֵם
 בְּנוֹי נָבֵל אֲכַעִסָם:
 כִּי־אֵשׁ וְקִדְחָה בִּאֲפִי

vii 22 כִּי־אֵשׁ וְקִדְחָה בִּאֲפִי
 וְתִתְאֲכַל אֶרֶץ וַיִּבְלָה
 23 אִסְפָּה עֲלֵימוֹ רַעוּת
 וְתִתְאֲכַל אֶרֶץ וַיִּבְלָה
 25 מִחוּץ תִּשְׁכַּל־ם < חֶרֶב
 26 יְכִי־אֲמַרְתִּי בִּאֲפִי אֲפִיתָם
 וְתִתְאֲכַל אֶרֶץ וַיִּבְלָה
 חֲצִי אֲכַלָּה בְּמִיָּה:
 וּמִחֲדָרִי יִתְבַּלֵּם אִימָת:
 אֲשֶׁבִיתָהּ מֵאֲנִישׁ וְזָכָר:
 חֲצִי אֲכַלָּה בְּמִיָּה:
 וּמִחֲדָרִי יִתְבַּלֵּם אִימָת:
 אֲשֶׁבִיתָהּ מֵאֲנִישׁ וְזָכָר:

viii (b) 27 לֹלֵי כַעַס־אֵיב אֲנֹר
 יְהִי־אֲמָרוֹ יִדְנוּ רַמָּה
 28 כִּי־גֹי אִבְדַּעְצוֹת הִמָּה
 30 * יְהִי־יִרְדָּף אֶחָד אֶלֶף
 29 לֹחֲכָמוֹ יִשְׁכִּילוּ יְכִי־זֹאת
 פֶּן־יִנְכָּרוּ יַעֲלֵי צָרִימוֹ
 וְלֹא־יִהְיֶה פֶּעַל כֹּל־זֹאת:
 וְאֵין בָּהֶם תְּבוּנָה:
 וּשְׁנַיִם יִגִּסוּ רֶבֶבֶת:
 יְהִי־יִבְיָנוּ לְאַחֲרֵיתָם:

(e) 6 הֲלֹא־הוּא אֲבִיךָ קִנְךָ
 הוּא־עֶשֶׂךָ וַיִּכְנַנְךָ: 20 וַיֹּאמֶר
 (ה) 24 וְזִמְיָן רַעֲב
 וְקָמַב מִרִירִי
 (θ) 25 גַּם בַּחֲדָרִי יִגְמַל בְּתוֹלָה
 יוֹנֵק עַם־אִישׁ שִׁיבָה:
 (λ) אִם־לֹא צוֹרִי־גֹי מִכָּרִי־גֹי וַיְהִי
 וַיְהִי אֱלֹהֵינוּ הַסְנִיךְ־נוֹ: 26
 (i) 27 פֶּן

(ββ) אֲשֶׁלָּה בָם עַם־חֲמַת זִחְלִי עֶפֶר
 (δδ) 31 כִּי־לֹא כַצּוֹרֵנוּ צוֹרֵם
 וַיְהִי פְלִילִים:
 וַיְהִי פְלִילִים:

2. A RECONSTRUCTION OF THE HEBREW TEXT

שירת משה

- 3 i בִּשְׁם יְהוָה אֶקְרָא
וְהָבֹה גִדְל לֹאֲהִינֹו :
1 הָאִינֹו הַשָּׁמַיִם וְאֶדְבַּרְהָ
וְתִשְׁמַע הָאָרֶץ אִמְרֵי־פִי :
2 יַעֲרֶף כַּמָּטָר לִקְחִי
וְתִזְלַל כַּמַּל אִמְרֵי־י :
4 הַצֹּר תָּמִים פַּעֲלוֹ
יִכַּל דְּרָכָיו מִשְׁפָּט
אֶל־אֲמוֹנָה וְ[לֹא] אֶל־עוֹל
צִדִּיק וְיֹשֶׁר > יֶהוֹנָדָה < :

- 7 ii (a) A. זָכִיר יְמוֹת עוֹלָם
וְכִין שְׁנוֹת דֶּרֶדֶד
וְשָׁאֵל־אֲבִיךָ וְ[תוֹא] יִגְדֶךָ
וְהִנֵּה > לְעִלּוֹן גּוֹיִם
(וְיִצְלַב גְּבֻלַּת עַמִּים)
8 (בַּהֲפִרְדּוֹ בְּנִי־אָדָם) |
לְמַסְפָּר בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל :
9 > וְיֶהֱיֶה < יֶהֱלַק יְהוָה > יַעֲקֹב
חֶבֶל נִחְלָתוֹ יִשְׂרָאֵל :

- 10 iii יִמְצָאֵהוּ בָּאָרֶץ מִדְבָּר
וּבְתֵּתוֹ יִי־לֵל יְהִי־יִשְׁמֵן
יִסְבְּבֵנָהוּ > וְיִכְנַנְהוּ
> וְיִצְרֵנָהוּ כְּאִישׁוֹן עֵינָיו :
11 כִּנְשֵׁר יַעֲיִד קָצוֹ
וְעֲלִי גּוֹלִיוֹ יִרְחֶף
יִפְרֵשׁ כִּנְפָיו > וְיִקְחֵם < > וְיִשְׁאֲלֵם < עֲלֵי אֲבֵרָתוֹ :
12 יִחוּת בְּדֶד יִנְחֵנוּ
וְאִין עֲמֹו אֵל גִּבֹּר :

- 13 a iv (b) יִרְכַּבְהוּ עַל־בְּמוֹתֵי אָרֶץ
וְיִאֲכַלְהוּ > תְּנוּבוֹת שְׂדֵי
14 b בְּנֵי בֶשֶׁן וְעֵתוּדִים
(וְיִחַלְבּוּ כְּלִיֹּת חֲמָט
13b וְיִנְקְהוּ דִבְשׁ מִמֶּלֶע
וְדַמִּיעַ עֲגֹב יִמְשַׁתֵּה חֲמָר
14 a α חֲמָט בָּקָר וְחֶלֶב־צֹאן
14 c וְיִאֲכַל יַעֲקֹב וְיִשְׁבַּע
15 a וְיִשְׁמֵן יִשְׂרָאֵל וְיִבֹּט־מִיָּה :

- 2 (α) כְּשִׁעְרָם עַל־דֶּשֶׁא
וּכְרִיבִים עַל־עֵשֶׂב (β) 9 עֲמֹו

(γ) 14 עִם חֶלֶב כְּרִים α

- (δ) 15 שְׁמֵנֶת עֵבֶית כְּשִׁית

וְיִמְשֵׁ אֱלֹהִים עֲשֵׂהוּ

- 16 יִקְנֹאֵהוּ בִּזְרִים

וְיִגְבֹּל צוֹר יִשְׁעָתוֹ :

בְּתוֹעֵבֶת יִכְעִיֹסֶהוּ :

(αα) 14 וְאִילִים

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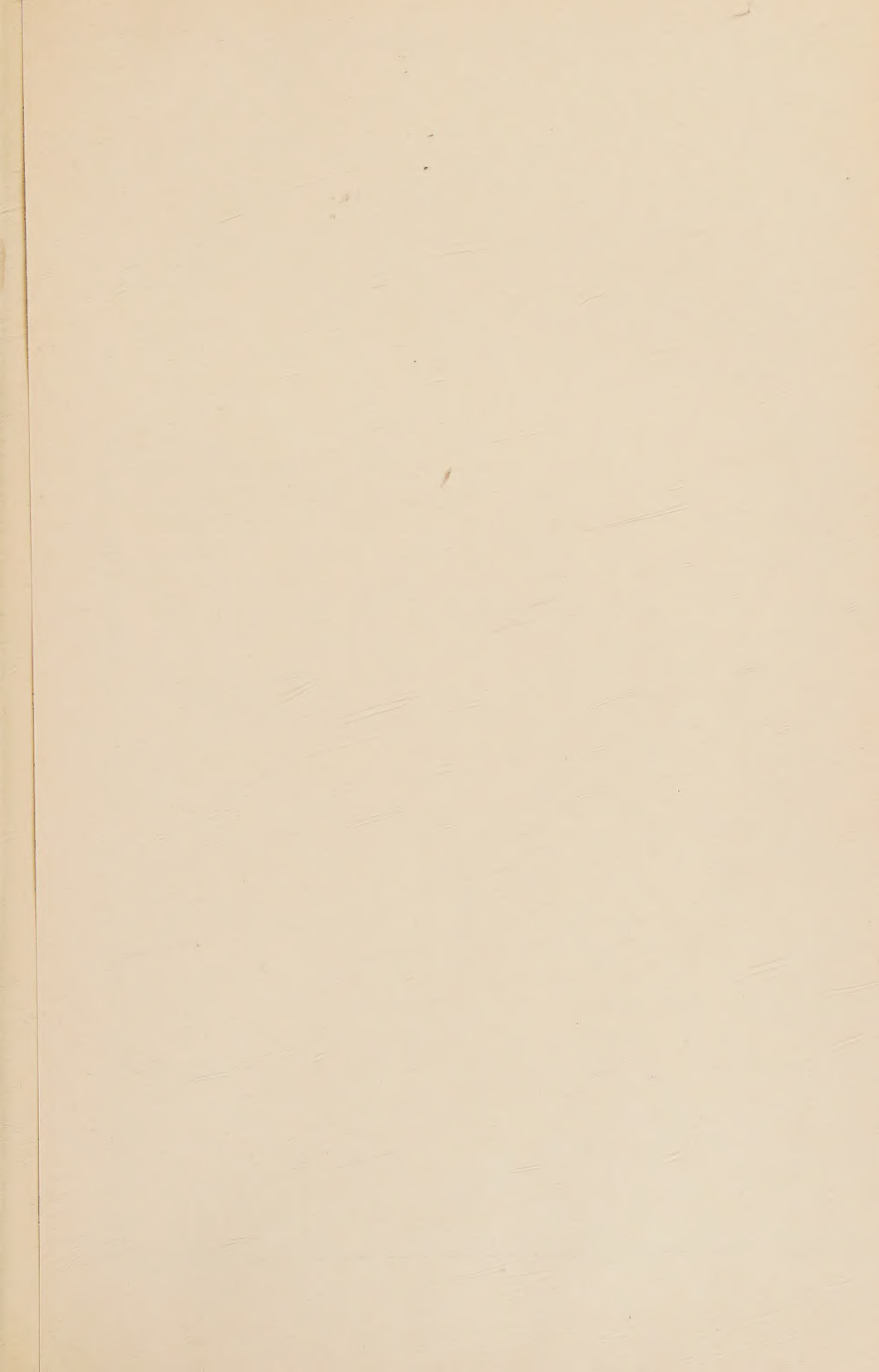
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